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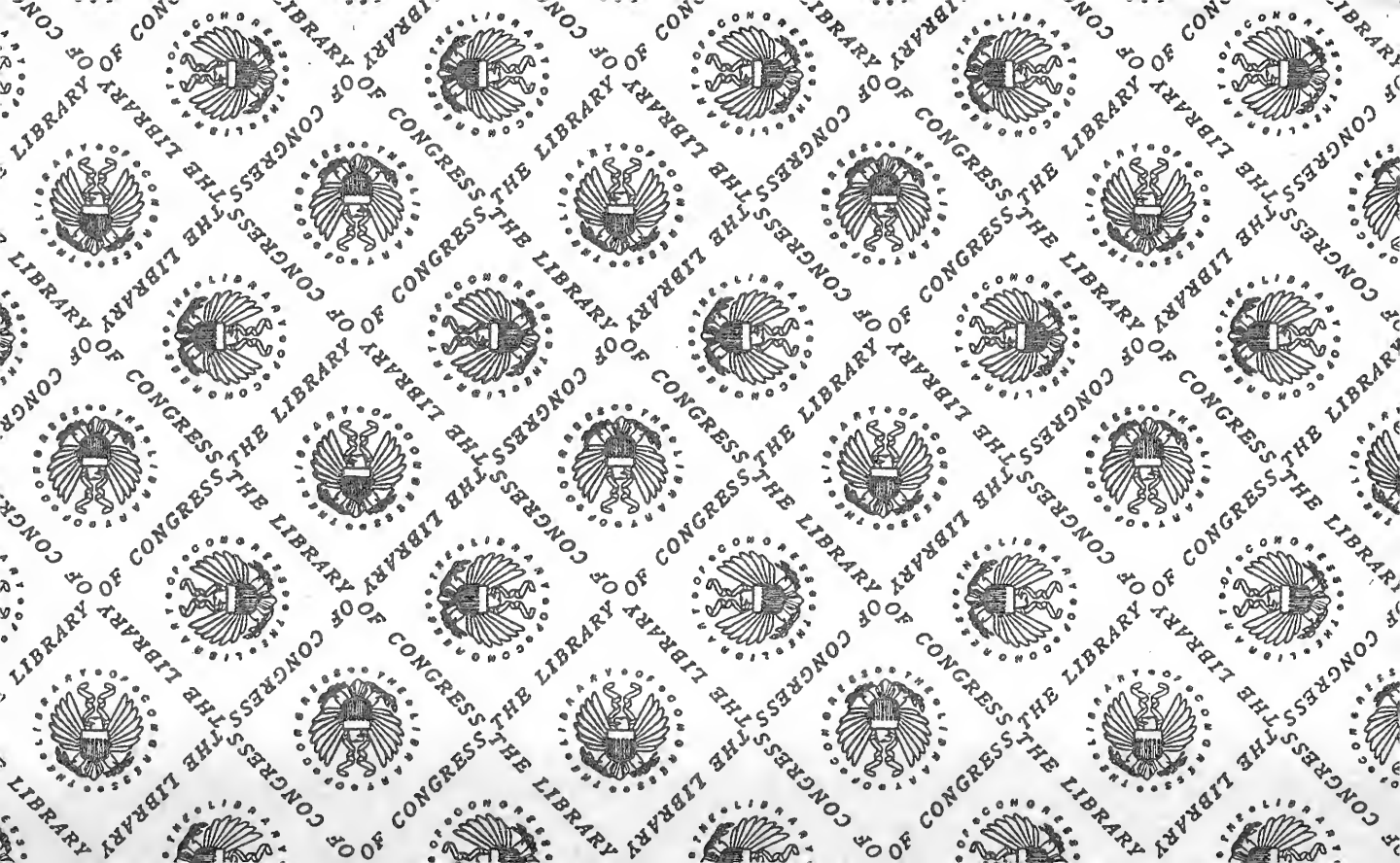
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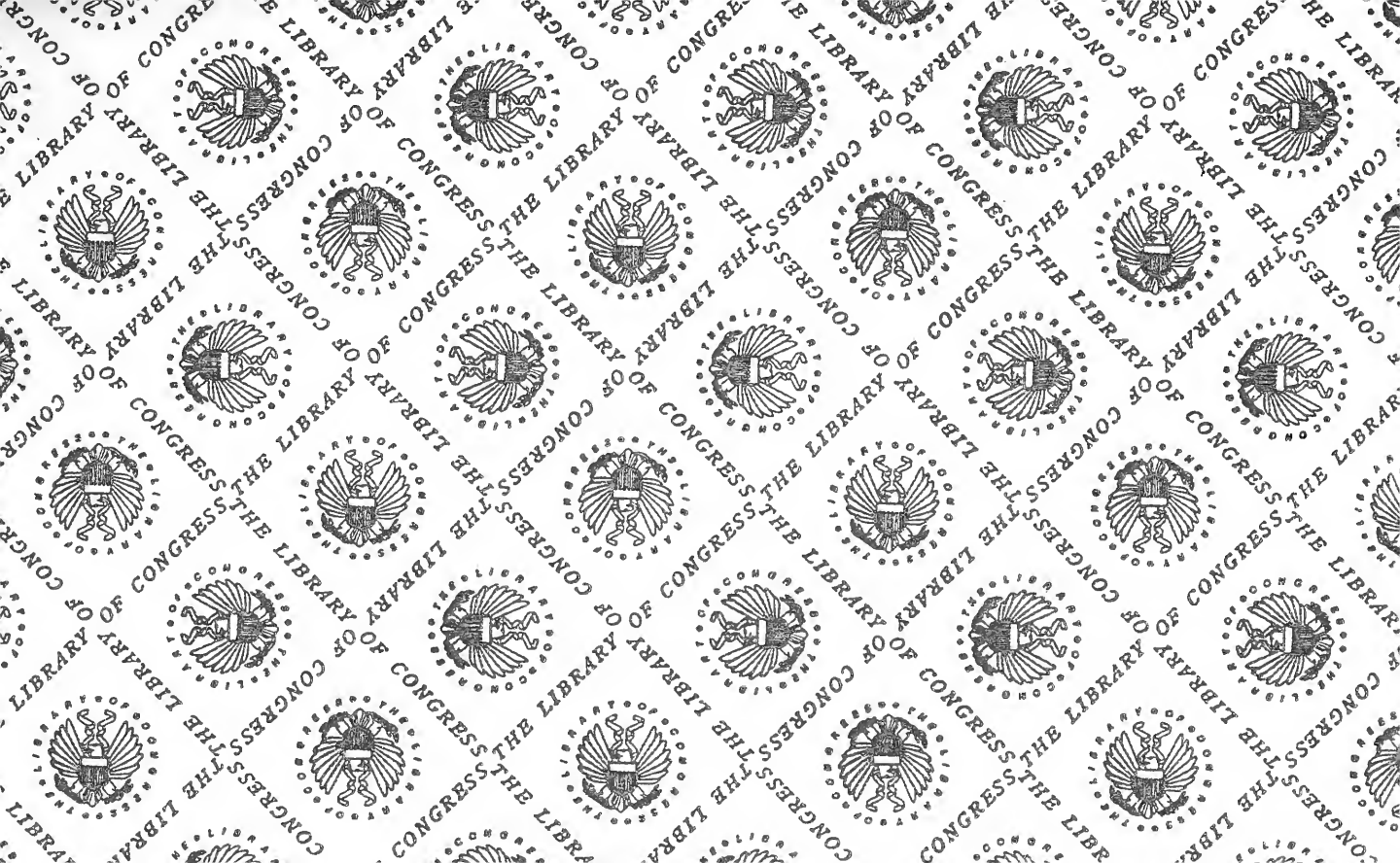
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THE ENEMY WITHIN

"The Tiger" Prepares for Battle

Premier Clemenceau obtains the proof of the Great Conspiracy and plans the prosecution of the plotters against France. Lt. Mornet, chief prosecutor (on left); Captain Bourchardon, chief investigator, next to Morne; M. Ignace, under Secretary of State for Military Affairs (standing); Clemenceau on extreme right.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

Hitherto Unpublished Details of the Great Conspiracy to Corrupt and Destroy France

By

SEVERANCE JOHNSON

Special Investigator and Correspondent at the Paris Peace Conference

Translations by EDGARD LÈON

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INTRODUCTION

France was almost destroyed during the last five years, not by German guns, but by a moral plague. Far beyond the black pall of the enemy's barrage, far, far beyond the range of the most powerful Krupp cannon, there were other, invisible foes spreading contagion everywhere among the French people. It was a pestilence of falsehood, of hatred, of treason.

Its manifestations were many and most mysterious. It appeared in munition strikes, army mutinies, the amazing boldness and apparently unrestricted activity of German spies; in pamphlets and newspaper editorials constantly emphasizing the "selfishness" of England, the "money making idealism" of the United States, the "impregnability" of Germany, the need of a "reapproachment with Teuton democracy," and most of all the "blessings of an immediate peace."

Some of the men who plotted these crimes were not caught until France was on the brink of ruin. Others, of high station and mysteriously potent political power, almost escaped under a counterfire of recrimination against those who exposed them. For example, the offices of one editor who had accused the head of the police of being a traitor were raided. Guns were found, which, the police said, indicated a royalist plot. Later investigation showed that these arms were heirlooms, used for decorative purposes.

Some of the plotters have been shot as traitors. A few were caught, as it were, with German gold still sticking to their fingers. But the whole story of this great conspiracy, a story which involves not only French police, but a high

Cabinet officer, and even a former Premier of France, a story that should also be an omen and a warning to every American citizen, has never yet been told.

The reader may ask:

"How can this be an omen and a warning to the United States?"

Because France and the United States have been built upon the same civic foundations.

Because in their democratic form of government individual liberty may be easily abused by the political charlatan, the ignorant social agitator, or the paid agent of a foreign foe. Too often, as we Americans well know, has freedom of speech been made the mouthpiece of demagogism and the mask of treason.

Furthermore, the ultimate triumph of France over her enemies both within and without should cheer and hearten every American who has faith in democratic institutions. In this story the reader will see how one leader after another rose among the French to free them from the traitors in their midst; and each failed until the strongest man of all emerged in the person of Georges Clemenceau, the last War Premier of France.

The forces of social disruption in France were the same which wrecked Russia, the same which even now are at work in this country, fomenting class hatred, plotting bomb outrages, seeking in every insidious and devious way to tear down the social structure to which they contributed nothing, but out of the destruction of which they hope to gain all.

Even before the war Germany fostered in France the kind of socialism which became Bolshevism in Russia. The Berlin foreign office had thus planned to weaken the French morale to such a degree that the German armies on breaking through Belgium would find a foe divided against itself. In such an analysis of the French character, German psychology

showed itself as obtuse as in trying to terrify England with Zeppelin raids.

Nevertheless, Germany laid her plans with thorough German thoroughness. She sought to dominate the French bureaucracy by building up a political machine which would work for the abandonment of the Triple Entente, the isolation of England and a new alliance with Germany. At the head of this party Joseph Caillaux rose to great power; and beside him, always obedient to his master's wishes, was Louis Malvy.

Caillaux, the arch German conspirator, might have been master of France when the war broke and the Huns began marching on Paris had it not been for the fear and hate of a woman. Gaston Calmette, editor of the *Figaro*, was seeking to expose Caillaux, his German plots and counterplots, but before he could drive home the final blow the wife of Caillaux lay in wait for the editor in his office and shot him dead.

Caillaux was forced to quit political office. Malvy remained. Both continued to work together and their power seemed very little shaken. Malvy, as Minister of the Interior and head of the police and secret service, continued on in the war cabinet of Viviani, the coalition cabinet of Briand, the centralized cabinet of Ribot. Meanwhile the pestilence grew. The police seemed blind. Spies and enemies went and came without molestation. Circulars were distributed among the soldiers urging them to quit fighting and insist on an immediate peace. Complaints were made to Malvy, and the complaints were pigeonholed.

Léon Daudet, editor of *L'Action Française*, openly accused Malvy of being a traitor. Other journalists and political leaders attacked Malvy for permitting the most lawless elements of society to spread contagion throughout the country, but Malvy's power was so great that he paid no heed. Even when it was known that Malvy's own private

office was the rendezvous of Almeyreda, editor of the pacifist *Bonnet Rouge*, an ex-convict, leader of a band of apaches hired by Caillaux during the trial of his wife; yes, even when it was proved that this desperado was preventing the arrest of enemy aliens and getting them out of concentration camps, Malvy still possessed enough influence to persuade Premier Painlevé to drop further investigation.

Then the storm broke.

Painlevé was forced out.

Clemenceau, who had attacked Malvy in a memorable speech before the Senate on July 22, 1917, assumed the reins of government. Caillaux was arrested and sent to join his fellow conspirators in the prison of Santé. Spies and agitators were rounded up throughout France, and a broad trail of German intrigue and corruption was uncovered, which led from Paris to Berlin by way of Switzerland and New York.

Then, and not till then, did the ravages of the pestilence begin to abate. They have not ceased. The seeds were sown too deep. The roots are still alive. Malvy was condemned, but his punishment was almost an apology. He was permitted to retain his citizenship. He was only exiled for five years. When he left Paris for San Sebastian, Spain, on August 12, 1918, a deputation from the General Labor Federation and Radical Socialist party raised the cry:

"*Vive* Malvy!"

When I was in Paris, as investigator and correspondent, both before and during the Peace Conference, I learned from various officials how France had fought an enemy within as well as without. It was a story which filled me with a new admiration for the French. It proved that the French, as a people, possess the same heroism as their soldiers, and can keep on fighting despite their wounds.

The trials of the chief traitors particularly impressed me. They seemed object lessons, which all, who live in republics,

should know and understand. They taught a moral, which I felt it my duty to bring back to the United States. They revealed how corrupt politicians and demogogue editors can work unspeakable evil, if they are able to use class hatred as a shield as well as a sword.

Take the Malvy case, for example. At first it appeared to me amazing that Malvy, who was finally exposed as one of the worst foes of France, could remain in the war cabinets of three successive Premiers. On inquiry I learned that Malvy stayed in power, because of the blind support of the Radical Socialists and the politicial patronage of Caillaux. Each Premier, until Clemenceau assumed control, believed he had to keep Malvy to pacify the socialists, who met all criticism of their Minister of the Interior with the reply:

"The capitalists want to throw him out to seize everything for themselves. They cannot fool us with their lies. Malvy must stay, because he represents the proletariat."

Many a politician and many an editor has attained great power in the United States by exploiting class hatred. And even in these perilous times, although they are laying the match of Bolshevism and revolution at the very door of our American institutions, the same politicians and editors are still raising the same cry. Not a few are preaching the propaganda of Germany's own agents in France, England and the other Allied countries of the Old World. They are cursing the Peace Conference, excoriating President Wilson, tearing the peace treaty to bits, condemning the League of Nations, as a delusion and a snare, spreading racial hatreds among the Irish, the Egyptians, the Hindus and the Moors.

In the meantime, Germany's industrial and commercial machinery, uninjured by the war, is preparing to reconquer the markets of the world.

Let us search for the enemy within our own gates. Let us not wait too long, as France almost did.

The facts in this book are based upon official documents

of the French government. In my work I found of great value the assistance of Gustave Geffroy, President of the Academy Goncourt, the lifelong friend and biographer of Clemenceau; George Adam, Paris correspondent of the London *Times;* and the editors of *Les Procès de Trahison* and their reviews of the evidence at the trials of Bolo, Malvy and the *Bonnet Rouge* plotters. I also wish to thank Noël Dorville, the Paris illustrator; and I. Moncayo, the New York artist, for the pictures, with which these pages have been illuminated.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

The brotherhood of America and France was born in the War of Independence. It has never been obscured since. It has found its final consecration in the great fight we have just fought shoulder to shoulder for the liberty of the world. It will keep all its strength in the future and contribute to consolidate, in the interest of humanity, the peace which has been established, at the cost of so many sacrifices, by the defenders of right.

President Poincaré

(Message to the Lafayette Day Committee of New York, Sept. 6, 1919)

THE ENEMY WITHIN

CHAPTER I

A Woman's Crime Saved France

Why Mme. Caillaux Killed Gaston Calmette—Caillaux's Antebellum Alliance with Germany—The First Seeds of the Pestilence—Caillaux, Forced out of Cabinet by Wife's Mad Act, Continued to Plot against France—Caillaux's Minions of the Underworld—His Secret Love Plottings

The clocks of Paris were striking the noon hour.

It was March 16, 1914, a little more than four months before the world war. The city lay peacefully beneath the warm spring sunshine, through which a few stray clouds drifted lazily.

Crowds overflowed the sidewalks of the narrow side-streets and poured into the boulevards in ever broadening streams. Shops and offices were deserted, for all Paris goes to *déjeuner* at twelve and does not return to work until two. The richer storekeeper seeks a chair on the sidewalk in front of his favorite café. The more thrifty clerk jumps a motor bus or a subway train and travels all the way home to dine with wife and family. The laborer seats himself in a public square, and over his dinner pail and a bottle of red wine discusses socialism.

Peaceful though Paris seemed, nevertheless she was already undermined by the enemy. Foes within and without had planned her doom. The spirit of murder, of force, of absolutism was already abroad in France; and the first tragedy of the millions of tragedies of the war was about to be enacted that very day and hour.

Through the noonday crowds a great, black limousine pushed its way impatiently. Tasselled curtains of delicate pink almost hid the man and woman within. The two were talking excitedly. Their faces reflected the same deathlike pallor. They were no other than Joseph Caillaux, Minister of Finance, the most powerful political leader in France, and his wife.

The car was now crossing the Seine by the Pont de la Concorde. Ahead arose the obelisk in the Place de la Concorde, where the public guillotine once stood, where retribution and death were meted out for those who in the past had plotted against France. Past the gaunt pillar, and on through the Rue Royale, where the victims of the Revolution were carried in tumbrels to the place of execution, the automobile hurried still faster. Caillaux continued talking with even more frenzied gestures.

"Then you were unable to find anyone who could stop Calmette?" he cried, taking his wife's hands, which she had dropped helplessly in his, and pressing them to his face.

"No one, no one," she answered in hardly more than a moan. "All say the same thing. Calmette will not stop. The *Figaro* tomorrow, they say, will publish private papers, taken from your desk, which will drive you out of France."

"They are our love letters—oh, God, they are our love letters. He is seeking your ruin as well as mine."

"Then what are you going to do?"

"I will kill him!" exclaimed Caillaux, clasping her hands still tighter.

"When, when?" she asked convulsively.

"In my own time," he replied.

They reached home and sat down to their *déjeuner*. They were alone in the great dining room. They kept talking always of the same thing. From facts since obtained by various governmental investigations, it is now possible to picture this fateful scene.

Caillaux at that very hour was planning to become the Lenine of France. He had been in league with Germany for years, working always in the interest of the Kaiser and in co-operation with the Kaiser's agents. He had been building up a socialist party in France, which practically controlled the Chamber of Deputies, and which contained leaders ready to set France aflame with a Bolshevist revolution as soon as Berlin gave the command.

For two months Gaston Calmette had been attacking Caillaux in the columns of the *Figaro*. The assaults were becoming fiercer and fiercer each day. Up to that time the private, the domestic life of Caillaux had been allowed to remain in the background of the fight. Only the machinations of Caillaux in high finance and in politics were being laid bare to public view, and with only the avowed purpose of proving to the French people that Caillaux was a wolf in sheep's clothing, and that underneath all he was the worst foe of France. Calmette pictured Caillaux as a liar, grafter, blackmailer, thief; and produced a mass of evidence to prove his charges.

Again and again the editor of the *Figaro* also pointed to Caillaux as the secret ally of Germany. He repeated the accusation that Caillaux, when Prime Minister in 1911 during the Agadir embroglio, clandestinely negociated a treaty with Germany, by which she lost to Germany a vast tract in the French Congo and other vital interests.

Caillaux had heard this very day that Calmette had obtained possession of two other documents, which proved still more conclusively his alliance with Germany. It was the publication of these papers, which he dreaded most.

At the luncheon table, however, he talked about love letters. Three days before, on March 13, Calmette printed a letter, which Caillaux had written his second wife before their marriage, signed "Thy Jo." The editor explained that he did not intend to begin the exposure of Caillaux's home

life, and only used the letter to illustrate the hypocrisy of Caillaux's statesmanship. In this letter Caillaux wrote:

"I was compelled to endure two trying sittings of the Chamber. However, I scored the finest success, and demolished the income tax, while apparently defending it. I earned applause from the Centre and Right, and yet did not displease the Left too greatly. I succeeded in giving a turn of the helm to the Right, which was indispensable."

Of letters Caillaux kept talking, of other letters which would disclose the scandal in his own household, of the skeletons in his own closets, which he said the *Figaro* would soon drag out and parade for public view. It was a subject well adapted to arouse the hate and fury of a woman.

Of his first wife he spoke, of Mme. Gueydan, whom he had divorced for the woman opposite him. Always referring to the earlier Mme. Caillaux, as "she," he continued:

"She has given Calmette the photographs of our love letters. As I have told you, she burned the originals. When I found she had discovered them in my desk, I promised I would give you up, if she would destroy them."

There was only a moan in reply, and Caillaux continued:

"She did not believe me. She made photographic copies. Calmette has them. He intends to ruin you as well as me."

What the wife said is not known. After her husband left home with the remark that there was a most important meeting of the Finance Committee of the Senate, which he did not feel like attending, and that he must find a deputy to take his place, Mme. Caillaux went to her boudoir and donned the simplest kind of street dress. A moment later she was in her automobile.

That evening the Italian Ambassador was to be the host of a state dinner at the Italian Embassy. The following Monday night, Mme. Caillaux had planned a banquet to which many of the same guests had been invited. Despite

the tragic thoughts with which her mind was racked, she did not forget the preparations for this banquet. Her first stop was at an employment agency, where she hired a cook. From there she went to a gun store. The first revolver she lifted was too heavy. With a lighter one she fired several shots at a target.

"This is what I want," she remarked in a rather indifferent manner; and putting the pistol in her muff, she left the store.

On returning home, she dressed again, this time in most elaborate costume. Her mind appeared perfectly calm. She seemed to be in not the slightest hurry. After attending to various, little home duties, she went to her boudoir desk, read some old letters and wrote the following note:

"My beloved husband: When I told you this morning of my interview with President Monier, who informed me that we have in France no law to protect us against the calumnies of the press, you said to me that one of these days you would smash the face of the ignoble Calmette. I realized that your decision was irrevocable. My resolve was then made, . . . I shall do justice. France and the Republic need you.

"I will do the deed.

"If this letter reaches you, you will know that I have done, or tried to do justice. Forgive me, but my patience is exhausted.

"I love and embrace you from the depths of my heart.

"Your Henriette."

(Fernand Monier, President of the Tribunal of the Seine, later denied he had ever made such a statement.)

Folding the envelope, Mme. Caillaux called for Miss Baxter, the English governess of the Caillaux menage, and said quietly:

"If I do not return home by seven, give this to my hus-

band. But be sure and do not give it to him before then." As if to remind her mistress, the governess replied:

"The dinner at the Italian Embassy is tonight, Madame."

"No, no, I am not going. My husband will understand. I am sending his evening clothes to his office."

Mme. Caillaux again entered her limousine. She drove directly to the office of the *Figaro*. Calmette was not in. She said she would wait.

"It is not necessary to give my name," was her answer to the persistent office boy.

While Mme. Caillaux was waiting, her face buried in her furs, her body bent forward, almost crouching, that she might even hide the muff that held the revolver, the compositors nearby were putting into type the last Caillaux exposure.

It was the copy of a report made by Public Prosecutor Fabre, to the effect that M. Monis, Premier at that time, had been requested by Caillaux to postpone the trial of Rochette, the notorious swindler. By such delay the charges against Rochette would be outlawed.

Men came and men went. Among them were a florid faced individual who evidenced prosperity not only by his diamond cuff links, but an aggravated accumulation of fat beneath the ears; and a wiry, nervous man, evidently a poor relation of the other, who felt it necessary to keep talking to prove his appreciation of his patron's society.

"I read every word of the Caillaux articles," said the old man. "I think the *Figaro* has already proved that he ought to be shot. Why, take that Prieu case. I kept a clipping of that. Here, I'll read it to you."

The fat man was so nearly asleep from the effect of some rare old wine he had swallowed with his *déjeuner*, that he failed to interrupt. The old man, taking this silence as a good omen, continued:

"Here it is. From the *Figaro* of January 8. The article is called, 'The Secret Deals of M. Caillaux.' "

Looking up from the clipping, the old man said:

"The point is this. Pierre Prieu was a French merchant who went to Brazil in the seventies. He had thirteen vessels down there, which Brazil seized. The Brazilians thought the ships were smugglers. Prieu put in a claim against the Brazilian government. France took over the claim and tried to collect. Prieu said the French government got from Brazil in 1876, 15,000,000 francs. Prieu tried to get this money from France, but couldn't. From 1878 to 1899 he kept fighting for his money, but never could get it. His direct heir thinking the claim was lost, assigned it to some relatives and friends, who formed a syndicate."

The little woman across the room bent still further over her muff. The old man did not see the burning eyes behind the veil.

"Well, here is where Caillaux saw a chance to get some more loose gold. No wonder he's one of the richest men in France. They formed a syndicate, I said, Fonville, Boileau, and Sauvage; and they hired Auguste Schneider to represent them. Schneider saw Caillaux, and Caillaux saw the heirs. Caillaux said he had looked up the matter, and he thought the heirs should get their money, but he added:

" 'If you get money, we shall get money.' The next day, Caillaux said that he wanted 80 per cent."

Taking up the clipping the old man read as follows:

"These are the impudent means which the Finance Minister of the French Republic dares to employ to obtain the war funds for his political ends. He takes from the pockets of tax payers the millions which he grants in his omnipotence to the holders of a claim refused for nearly thirty years, and he imposes the formal and sole condition that they place at his disposal part of the sum for his election expenses or his newspapers."

With almost a cry, the woman opposite rose from her seat. Again she pleaded with the office boy. "Please tell me, when do you think M. Calmette will come?"

"Any time now," was the laconic reply.

The fat man did not stir, and the old man continued:

"Well, that's true. Calmette got the statements of the heirs to prove it.

"Then there was that Crédit Egyptien case. I understood he made a separate fortune out of that. Caillaux, as Minister of Finance, wrote the President of the Council, in December, 1908, I think, that the Crédit Foncier Egyptien, a big financial institution, with head offices in Cairo, should not be permitted to place its notices in the bulletins of the *Journal Officiel.* Later through M. Spitzer, a banker of international power, Caillaux was made President of the administrative council of the Crédit Foncier Egyptien, at a big salary. Then, and not till then were the 800,000 shares of the Crédit Foncier Egyptien authorized by Caillaux."

As if scenting her prey, Mme. Caillaux leaped from her chair. "M. Calmette has just gone into his office," she whispered to the office boy. "Here is my card."

The boy took one look, and jumped back. Then, slowly, and still staring at the card, turning it over and over, and still staring at it, he disappeared through the door of the inner office.

There was a companion seated near Calmette, as the boy entered.

"What! Mme. Caillaux?" exclaimed the editor. Looking again at the card, he passed it to his friend, who tossed it back with the warning:

"By all means don't see her."

"No," replied Calmette. "I cannot refuse to see any woman who comes to my office. Bring her in."

Her head still bent forward, her hands still in her muff,

Mme. Caillaux entered. As Calmette was closing the door, she fired. The editor fell dying. As he was borne from his office, he gave one of the staff of the *Figaro* his keys, pocket book and papers, among which were the documents, that contained the details of Caillaux's secret pact with Germany. These papers, as Calmette once told M. Bailby, editor of *L'Intransigeant*, he always carried on his person.

"Take good care of them," said Calmette. "Make it clear that I have done my duty."

The tragedy aroused a storm of controversy throughout France. Despite the faithful support of most of his socialist followers, Caillaux was forced to quit the Cabinet. He handed his letter of resignation to Premier Doumergue the very next morning after the murder.

A woman's crime saved France. If Caillaux had remained in the Cabinet when the Germans were marching on Paris four and a half months later, the city finally might have fallen into the hands of the *commune* with Caillaux at its head. Proof that he plotted a dictatorship will be presented in a later chapter.

The Master Mind behind the Great Conspiracy, however, was by no means without power or resources. The reorganized Cabinet still contained Louis Malvy, for long years his faithful henchman. Malvy would have been the Trotsky of France, had Caillaux been its Lenine. Both had worked together in building the Radical Socialist Party into a tremendously powerful political machine. Both spent vast sums for newspaper publicity and propaganda of all kinds. And into the treasuries of many of these same newspapers there also flowed a constant stream of German gold.

For a time Caillaux appeared to believe that he could overcome the tide of hostile criticism, and that if he were successful in obtaining the acquittal of his wife, he might step back into the Cabinet. At all events he began a care-

fully organized campaign to arouse public sympathy for his wife, to foment hatred for Calmette, to portray him in the newspapers which he controlled as a contemptible dog, that would even tear open a woman's heart with its fangs.

Knowing too well the hysteria of the mob, that it may be fanned into a fury or excited to laughter and ridicule by sheer stage play, he hired a number of Apaches to attend the trials of his wife and applaud or jeer at the command of their leader. Another duty of this gang was to accompany Caillaux on various occasions as a bodyguard. So bold did the band become, that it soon acquired the sobriquet of "the Corsican Guard."

Its chieftain was Almereyda, an Apache, who at eighteen entered prison, a thief, and who came out, an anarchist. Ever after that his life had been a succession of clashes with the police, arrests and imprisonments, amours and sprees, the plots of an assassin and the counter plots of a stool pigeon.

Almereyda was usually to be found in the more exclusive cafés, which bore the names of French patriots, but were owned and managed by Germans. In many of these resorts the Berlin spy system had its various places of rendezvous in Paris; for at this time Germany had become so bold, so confident of her grip on French politics, French finance, French opinion, that her agents worked without any apparent fear of detection.

In these same haunts Almereyda ate and drank, most frequently with some woman of the *demi-monde,* and always with a full purse.

This then was the kind of man, whom Caillaux hired to organize his Corsican Guard, his claque for the court room, his mercenaries for various secret errands and mysterious missions, which later were discovered by government officials to be the errands and the missions of German spies.

Despite the ugly character of most of his associates,

Almereyda believed himself a thorough scholar and gentleman. He had been connected with various anarchistic, socialistic journals, and frequently confessed his desire to immortalize his name with a series of novels based on the next revolution, which he said would overthrow the plutocrats of France within the next few years. Yet he took the money and did the bidding of the plutocrat of plutocrats, Joseph Caillaux.

His lean face, in a frame of long, dishevelled hair, his wild, burning eyes, his nervous lips were those of a genius, which had been cursed by some unexplainably sinister influence.

During these same fateful months of April, May, June and July, 1914, Caillaux was also unusually active in the direction of various campaigns of the Radical Socialist party, which looked to a reapproachment of France with Germany and a curtailment of the French military system. Both movements are now known to have originated in Berlin. One was to allay all French suspicion of Germany's war designs; the other, to render France helpless when the Germans were finally ready to attack.

At the Congress at Pau, the preceding October, the Radical Socialists not only made Caillaux president for the ensuing year, but they adopted the policy of reducing the term of the compulsory army service from three to two years. When the first echoes of conflict were heard in the Balkans, there were many French socialists who began to realize the danger. They protested against the Caillaux plan of weakening France, when at the same time Germany and Austria were bending every effort toward larger and more powerful armaments.

Viviani was one of these socialists, who rebelled against crippling the French army. After Caillaux's followers had cried, "Down with the three years' service," at the time when Premier Ribot sought to make it a part of his programme,

Viviani continued the fight and finally succeeded in defeating the pacifists and forming a Cabinet committed to the principle of preparedness.

At last, on June 20, less than a fortnight before the war, Mme. Caillaux was brought to trial. Long before the hour, a hooting, jostling crowd surged hither and thither in front of the great columns of the Palais de Justice. The great court room was quickly filled, and then numberless people for whom there was no room kept jamming their way in. The place seethed with excitement.

Every class, every type of French society was there. The exquisitely dressed royalist, barbered and manicured as for a dinner party; the newly rich bourgeois, aggressive in costume, speech, and gesture, to emphasize his belief in his own success in the world; the student from the Latin quarter with long hair and great, black, fantastically knotted neck tie; the socialist labor leader, always arguing with somebody; the delicately perfumed, bejewelled, silken lady of the ambassadorial set; the gross, painted, bleached, Montmartre cabaret singer; all were there.

In tight fitting cutaway Caillaux moved from place to place, like a stage director. He had even more than his ordinary dash and forcefulness. Short, fat, bald, he looked, when at ease, like some prosperous and not over intellectual tradesman; but in action his speech and movement evidenced great mental power, the power to think and to act quickly, to command and to enforce obedience.

Another crowd, even more motley than the one within, clung to the entrance and the great enclosure in front of the building, waiting to see Mme. Caillaux arrive from the Conciergerie. Thither she had been transferred the day before from St. Lazare prison. And there she had been placed in a large, roomy cell, not far from where Marie Antoinette once awaited trial and death.

A moving picture man, who had climbed one of the statues

of the facade to find a good point of vantage, caught a signal from a gendarme inside and shouted:

"They are taking her in by a hidden passage."

Whereupon the crowd yelled and hooted in a frenzy of disappointment.

As soon as the prisoner entered the court room, a storm of applause and handclappings burst upon her, which made her seem to shrink into herself all the more. She crouched in her chair, until Judge Albanel after the perfunctory preliminaries began to question her.

"You are called Geneviève Josephine Henriette Raynouard, are you not, and you were born Oct. 6, 1874?" he asked gently.

"Yes, sir," was the faint reply.

Quietly, hesitatingly, she told the story of her life. She was the daughter of a bourgeois family, where the sterner precepts of life and of morality were made the foundation of France. By these humbler people the Parisian *liberté de la vie* which excuses the faithless husband, the dissolute wife, the immoral youth, is believed to be the broad and certain road to destruction, infamy and death.

"For three months I mounted Calvary," she said. "Such agony I do not wish my worst enemy. No one can imagine what I went through. I feared for myself, my husband, my child. I feared for myself, because if part of those letters were published, my deepest, my innermost secrets would be displayed before the world. My woman's honor would be stripped and naked.

"I was reared by aged parents. My father was the son of a wealthy bourgeois of the period of 1830, devoted to the ideas of that epoch. My poor father, who last year told me that a wife who had a lover was a woman without honor, never would have set foot in my house had he known of my liaison with M. Caillaux.

"I was married at nineteen to Leo Claretie. We had two daughters. One of them died when she was only six months old. The other, Germaine, is now nineteen. A divorce was granted in April, 1908, in my favor; and the guardianship of our daughter was given to me."

Behind this testimony lay a picture which the witness did not remove from the shadows of the past. It was the picture of her first married life. Claretie was a newspaper man, for years the literary editor of the *Figaro*. Through him she was lifted out of the common place, narrow life of a bourgeois daughter into a different sphere. Through her husband she met the brilliant, the powerful men of the day, and among them, Caillaux. She saw in Caillaux a road to wealth and greatness; a road that poor Claretie could never follow, a road for which she finally abandoned all.

She spoke of her marriage with Caillaux with pride.

"He was Premier," she said. "In marrying him I found complete happiness. I thought all would be happy; but alas my life began to be poisoned by calumnies."

A man with long black hair, who had been sitting as near the witness as possible lifted his left hand. Immediately there was a chorus of hisses.

"The campaign against my husband then began. (More hisses.) All the people in the salons that I frequented received me with smiles that were intended to wound me. One person said behind me that my husband had taken money from Germany to cede the Congo. (Prolonged hisses.) These slanderous rumors penetrated every part of society. I was no longer able to go to sittings of the Chamber of Deputies, because I was the object of unpleasant attention in the galleries. One day someone shouted:

" 'To Berlin! Caillaux! Congo!'

The left hand of the long haired man again waved; and again the Caillaux claque stifled all other outcry with its hisses.

"The newspapers read by society were filled with such spiteful articles that I was afraid to call on my friends. One day at a fashionable dressmaker's, two women sat opposite me. One leaned over to the other and said:

" 'See that woman in black? Well, that is the wife of that thief, Caillaux.' (Hisses.) If I could live a hundred years, I should always hear that woman."

"One day," continued Mme. Caillaux, "in a friend's drawing room, I heard a woman say, 'Before long some good Frenchmen will assume the reins of government and prevent France from going into bankruptcy.' I replied:

" 'My husband is a Minister of the Treasury, a specialist in finance. He will not lead France into bankruptcy.' "

This time, the right hand of the chief claquer was upraised. A volley of cheers swept the court room.

The first Mme. Caillaux told a different story. A slender woman, whose wasted cheeks told of long years of unhappiness, she revealed Caillaux as a supreme hypocrite, who had always practiced dissimulation and intrigue in everything he did.

"I first knew my husband had a mistress," she said, "when a certain letter came into my hands. He fell on his knees and asked my pardon. He was afraid then that the news would get out and hurt his chances at the elections. He promised to give up the other woman, but he no sooner promised than he went back to her. I found more letters. I kept photographic copies. I had to do this to protect myself against the Machiavellian manoeuvers of an unfaithful husband. But never, never did I give these letters to M. Calmette."

"Madam Gueydan," said Judge Albanel quietly. "Do you swear you told Calmette nothing?"

"I swear it," cried the woman.

Had the husband deceived his wife? Had he inflamed her mind with a false fear? Did Caillaux really believe Calmette would print his love letters? These questions were heard

amid the murmur of whispers in the court room—a murmur which was instantly hushed when at last the letters were produced and exhibited before judge and jury.

They were written by Caillaux to the woman, who killed Calmette, soon after his first wife suspected the liaison. The first one read:

"My dear little Riri: When I first met thee, I felt the impulse of my whole being. I should nevertheless have resisted, and should no doubt have had the courage to conquer myself if I had been happy at home. But I was unhappy.

"Therefore, I threw myself towards thee with passionate fury.... With fine courage and with the beautiful boldness which love and confidence gave thee, thou hast conquered thy freedom, saying to me,

" 'I ask of thee but one engagement, that is, to give me thy love now,' and to this thou hast added:

" 'I shall not believe quite in the fullness of thy love if thou dost not succeed some day in thyself becoming free.'

"I answered thee, I do and will love thee. I certainly expect to regain my liberty some day, but in any case I shall not move before the elections."

This line well illustrates how Caillaux put personal ambition before love and all things else.

"Is that not it, my Riri? In the background of my mind I knew that I had embarked on a wrong venture, that there was between another person and myself such opposition of temperaments, of natures, of characters, that catastrophy was inevitable; that necessarily time would bring about a rupture apart from all questions of another love, and as the sole result of a clash between two beings who did not understand each other....

"When a man is unhappy at home and he has outside a delicious affection that naturally reacts upon him, those who have made him unhappy have only themselves to blame.

"However that may be, events happened in September. Thou saidst to me on that subject: 'Thou hast been weak. Thou shouldst have closed thy door to the fugitive, and made use of that favorable opportunity.'

"Undoubtedly the attitude thou suggestest could have been taken quite legitimately, but thou forgettest two things, first that it would have been well known she was injured in her affections and that we had all to fear from the fury of a woman who felt her situation gone, and who had not yet had time to reconcile herself to that idea.

"The second thing thou forgettest is that my electoral position was, so to speak, lost. It is easy for me to convince myself of that by conversations I had yesterday with my constituency. . . .

"Thou wilt say that I am losing a precious opportunity and that I shall have a frightful winter. All that is true, but it fails to take into account my legitimate political ambitions and, what is much graver, my duty toward party and friends.

"Let me explain that my party has made me what I am. I owe it as the honest man thou knowest me to be to fight for it next year in the fullest of my strength. (Cheers.) It will be the last campaign under the old voting system.

"What is irksome for us both is that for long months we shall have to employ extreme precautions. If we had the confidence in ourselves and in our love which I have absolutely, we would not see each other for months. I do not propose so radical a solution, because we should both suffer too much. But I repeat that infinite prudence is necessary. A half way solution thou wilt say. Perhaps so, my Riri, but life is not easy to arrange, when one must take so many things into consideration, and one to which I hold above all, the reputation of a woman one adores.

"Thou knowest well, my dear love, that I love thee above all and beyond all, that I feel happiness is with thee, that

I await it, that I hope for it, that I live only for its realization. I love thee with all my heart.

"P. S. I have reread my letter and it does not completely convey my thoughts. What I wish to make absolutely clear is the necessity that there shall be no scandal before May unless I am absolutely forced to do it. . . ."

Another letter began:

"I must return to Le Mans, where I preside over the General Council. Were I unreasonable, I would take you with me, but I am reasonable. I am discouraged. What a life. My only consolation is the thought of you, of having you in my arms, as at Cuchy. What delicious memories.

"I adore you. Thousands and thousands of kisses on all your little body, adored."

Most of the letters were written on the official note paper of the Prefecture of the Department of the Sarthe, where Caillaux had his country home, and which he represented many years as deputy.

The prisoner sobbed convulsively. She did not raise her head until M. Chenu, counsel for the Calmette family, again insisted that the editor of the *Figaro* had no intention of printing the letters, and referred to the deposition of President Poincaré, who told how Caillaux had come to him on the morning of the day of the murder and said he heard that Calmette planned to print a batch of private letters.

"I replied that I considered M. Calmette an honorable gentleman, entirely incapable of publishing letters defaming the private character of Mme. Caillaux, but I endeavored vainly to convince him," said President Poincaré.

In his final address to the Jury, M. Chenu said:

"I shall not attempt to go into the biography of Mme. Caillaux. She is a cool, sensible woman without emotion or pity. She has tears only for herself. She worked with

MME. CAILLAUX

"She could steel her face against all inquiry, or let herself be overwhelmed by her emotions. A study of her features explain how she could write, 'I will do the deed.'"

tenacity to break up her lover's home. You see the result, the mistress triumphing over the lawful spouse. They are bound up in each other, in their happiness, in their hopes, even in their murder plans.

"M. Caillaux is a man of inordinate and limitless ambition, whose power rests on his own audacity and on the fear that he inspires. He neglected to tell his wife of the assurance given him by President Poincaré that Calmette was incapable of printing private letters. They did not fear that. What they feared was the publication of the report by Victor Fabre on the Rochette swindle and the full exposure of Caillaux's alliance with Germany.

"The husband's violent words at the luncheon table decided the wife to substitute herself for him, and she prepared the assassination with as much calm as a society woman fitting in calls between tea parties."

While M. Labori was summing up for the defense, a man and woman left the court room hurriedly. The crowd in the doorway stared at her elegant costume, a sheen of black silk, and her blazing diamond rings. Her face was almost hid under a black picture hat. As soon as the two were apart, the man said:

"Thérèse, my work here is done. I must return to Berlin by the way of Brussels. See Caillaux. The war may break tomorrow. Remember, remember the black cross."

A few hours later Almereyda's band was leading a hostile demonstration in front of the *Figaro* office. Mme. Caillaux had been acquitted.

It was the night of July 28, and while the crowd fought in the street, there appeared another news bulletin in ominously big, black letters:

"Austria Declares War. Germany Mobilizes."

CHAPTER II

The Bonnet Rouge Gang

A Hot Bed of Sedition—Almereyda, Apache Editor—His Criminal Record—Almereyda, Tool of Caillaux—The Apaches Revel—A Pacifist Reporter

Later, that same night Almereyda and his Apache followers celebrated Caillaux's victory in the back room of his socialistic newspaper, the *Bonnet Rouge*. They had just returned from a parade through the Montmartre section in which amid mingled cheers and curses they kept shouting:

"*Vive Caillaux.*" (Hurrah for Caillaux.)

"*Vive la Paix.*" (We want peace.)

"*A bas la Guerre.*" (Down with the war.)

"Well, at last we're here," exclaimed Almereyda, as he turned and faced his followers. "We've had some dirty hard fights, but we won them all. We helped Caillaux all we could. The police were afraid to touch us, and when they did, they had to let us go. Why, I'm supposed to be in jail now. The man at the top of the department is my friend. Whenever you get against the wall, I'll get you out."

The gang yelled itself hoarse. Its appreciation of Almereyda's friendship and power was deliriously genuine.

A table had been set in the middle of the room with wine bottles of various shapes stacked behind each plate, and a flaming red rose in each glass. Above, from the ceiling, hung a great, red flag.

"Tavera, take that seat over there," said the leader, pointing first at the most murderous looking member of his retinue, and then at the chair at the end of the table.

"Here, Roch, sit there."

"Poggiale, here, here's your place."

"Fil, Filippi, come up nearer. No, not too near. You're drunk, you dog, drunk already."

It was an ugly assemblage. Everyone had a jail record. Their voices, their laughter, their blasphemies, all had a prison echo. Besides the five leaders there were many others of the same type, also of the Paris underworld, such as you might see any night in the corners of certain side street cafés, or lurking in the shadows of the boulevards, waiting for their woman companions to report, or for the call of fellow thieves in some other criminal enterprise.

They were of the same stratum of society, to which those New York Apaches, Lefty Louie, Gyp, the Blood; Harry Lewis, and Dago Frank, the gunmen of the Rosenthal case, belonged. Their mode of life, their relation to the police, their connections with gamblers and the *demi-monde* of the street, were the same.

The gang did not stand on ceremony. They plunged into the dinner headlong, and soon the clatter of wine bottles, plates, and glasses; the jeers and curses, which more and more made conversation impossible; the snatches of ribald song, and an occasional thunderous oath from Tavera, made the shaky doors and windows fairly rattle. Finally, when Filippi fell from his chair with a crash to the floor, and two of his companions tumbled him into a corner, Almereyda arose and commanded silence.

"I'm as drunk as any of you," he said slowly, "but I'm not too drunk to tell you this. The war has come. It may break tomorrow. That means that all of us will go to jail, unless we know how to prevent it.

"We are all in the Carnet B (Notebook B, of the Department of the Interior, which contains the names of anarchists, antimilitarists, and all others who may try to interfere with mobilization). Malvy, Minister of the Interior,

is my friend. Malvy has complete control of the police. He has always been the right hand man of Caillaux; and because of what I have done for Caillaux, Malvy will see that Almereyda and his friends suffer no harm. As a rule, everybody in the Carnet B must be arrested before mobilization; but Malvy is strong enough to prevent that."

"*Vive Caillaux, Vive Malvy,*" stammered Filippi, as he tried to get up out of the corner. His drunken sally, like a spark in a powder keg, set off the whole room in an explosion of laughter.

"Now, let me say, that each of you who worked for Caillaux during the trial gets 500 francs. Come here tomorrow, and you get the money. Tavera ought to have a bonus for that gendarme he almost killed, and I'll see he gets it."

"Tavera, Tavera," yelled the crowd, and seeing that his fellows would not be satisfied with less, Almereyda turned to his chief assassin, and pulling him out of his chair, demanded a speech. Tavera brandished a wine bottle, as if to split open his chieftain's head, and then began:

"We want to stick together. There's a black hell of trouble ahead. As I was telling you at that café near the Châtelet subway station, where every morning during the trial we got our tickets of admission, we've got to stick together. Almereyda is not Malvy's friend. He's Malvy's boss. If he tells Malvy to open the jails, Malvy opens them. If we stick to Almereyda, the war can come. It won't bother us."

"*Vive La Garde Corse,*" (Hurrah for the Corsican Guard) cried Filippi, as he at last succeeded in getting on his feet. The interruption irritated Tavera, who retorted:

"Get back into your hole, you red-eyed dog of a thief. You are always a fool, when you're drunk. You'll be killed by your bottles, some day."

Tavera was known to the police as "Tavera, the Assassin." Originally a card sharp and confidence man, he had developed into a highway robber and burglar. Before Alme-

reyda hired him for Caillaux's Corsican Guard, he had attained more or less success in gambling houses and other resorts, where money was spent freely, by suddenly pulling a gun and with the aid of confederates holding up everybody else. Tavera was in a class entirely above a sneak thief, like Filippi. Most of all he was not a man to be trifled with, and Filippi was not too drunk to realize that fact. So Filippi dropped back in the corner and out of sight.

There were other speeches and then the gathering broke up slowly. Finally only Almereyda and a youth, who had come late, remained.

"Jean, what news have you got?" asked the Editor in Chief. "What is the *Figaro* saying about us this morning?"

Jean was a reporter of the *Bonnet Rouge*.. He had had the task of writing many of the articles attacking Calmette during the trial, and his work had attracted the notice and approval of his employer. Jean was never allowed to be present at the meetings of the Corsican Guard, because he was thought to be too much of a newspaper man.

"He's one of those dogs of a fool, who writes everything he knows,' said Tavera once in a flash light analysis of Jean's character.

Jean produced a copy of the *Figaro*, and Almereyda read aloud:

"The republic is covered with mud and blood by the greatest scandal of our epoch. More or less well paid magistrates, who aided in the parody of justice, are ineffaceably dishonored. A powerful man, surrounded by subsidized partisans leagued with the political party in power, is above justice and the laws.

"M. Caillaux presided at the trial. He signalled to Judge Albanel to adjourn when things were going against him, turning the Assize Court into a fair for the sale of consciences. Henceforth, we shall look for his vengeance on those who tried to oppose him."

"Hah, hah, they still feel the sting of our story about Calmette's connection with the Hungarian Government," was Almereyda's comment. "Tell me exactly what happened the other day, when Caillaux produced Calmette's will and uncovered that Hungarian scandal. I was out of the court room just then."

"That was on July 27," replied Jean.

"Caillaux handed a sheaf of papers to Judge Albanel, and said:

" 'I shall not repeat what I have already told the court about the bonds which united the *Figaro* to certain foreign personalities. These documents which I here present in evidence were signed by Calmette. They show that M. Calmette agreed to work for the Hungarian government for pay, that he was willing to enter the employ of certain Hungarian political leaders. These documents were given me by Count Karolyi, chief of the Hungarian radical party.' "

"That's not what I want to know, my boy," broke in Almereyda with more show of irritation. "Tell me, did you hear Lipscher testify?"

"You mean that Hungarian with the dazzling beauty in the big, black picture hat?" asked Jean.

"Yes, I mean Lipscher. The woman was Thérèse Duverger, a kind of international character, who is a link between the spy systems of Germany and Austria, and always travels with Lipscher. But never mind her. Tell me what Lipscher said."

"I did not hear Lipscher testify," replied Jean.

"What," exclaimed Almereyda springing from his chair with an oath. "Didn't you get his version of that Calmette contract? What was the matter with you? Did you not know that it was the most important thing in the whole trial for us?"

As he gnashed these words between his teeth, Almereyda

worked his fingers nervously, as if ready to choke Jean and tear him to pieces.

"I had to leave the court room to see my wife about that time," said Jean. "I must have missed Lipscher."

"Damn your wife," cried Almereyda. "Don't you know you can't have a wife in this business. Now I'll give you just one more chance. Go out and get me the Havas New York cables of tonight. Get them from some of your friends on the other papers. See if Count Karolyi has been located in the United States. If you don't get what I want I'll discharge you by cutting your throat."

Jean was an amiable lad, or he would not have meekly picked up his hat, and without a word hurried out into the dark hall way and down the creaking stairs. He would indeed never have stayed on the *Bonnet Rouge*, as long as he had, if he did not possess a nature, that was wholly faithful and long suffering. He had just married, and the needs of his little household made him a veritable slave to the *Bonnet Rouge* payroll. Jean was a pacifist by nature. He had come to the *Bonnet Rouge*, because he believed in what he thought were its ideals. He had read its articles on universal brotherhood and the iniquities of war, and he thought he would find in its office the long wished for opportunity to devote all his thought and energy to the great cause of peace.

All too soon Jean was disillusionized. One day in the reference bureau, he found the following clipping from some other Paris newspaper:

"Almereyda, editor of Caillaux's *Bonnet Rouge* has a long criminal record. Here is a list of some of his offenses and sentences, of which the most recent he does not seem to have served:

"May 28, 1900: Theft, two months in jail.

"June 26, 1902: Being found with explosives, one year's imprisonment.

"Aug. 7, 1907: Outrage, rebellion, and carrying prohibited arms, six months in jail.

"Dec. 30, 1907: Inciting soldiers to disobedience; three years in prison.

"Feb. 15, 1908: Inciting soldiers to disobedience and insult to the army; two years' imprisonment.

"Dec. 7, 1910: Insult to the army; one year in jail.

"Jan. 6, 1914: Violence and blows; two months in jail.

"April 8, 1914: Blows and injuries, fifteen days in jail.

"June 24, 1914: Blows and violence; four months in jail."

During his short period of service on the *Bonnet Rouge*, Jean also discovered that the editors and reporters who were constantly writing the most profound articles on peace, on the need of France to become a more economic and less military nation, were the most warlike themselves. He felt like calling up Almereyda and resigning over the telephone, but again he thought of Marie, of the furniture he had bought on the installment plan, of the new dresses Marie wanted, and most of all of the other life which was soon to enter his home, and he faltered. No, he would stay on the *Bonnet Rouge* just a little while longer.

Meanwhile, Almereyda was marching up and down the deserted banquet room, kicking the wine bottles that had tumbled to the floor, and cursing.

"Why did I trust that boy Jean with such an important assignment?" he kept muttering to himself. "The lad did such remarkable work early in the trial, that I let him stay. And of course he had to go out to see that baby wife of his, just at the most vital time of all."

Then it occurred to Almereyda, that Jean had done no more than his master, who had left the court, not for the sake of a loving, faithful wife, but for Madame Z, one of the most notorious women in Paris. Madame Z knew that Almereyda was a power in the Ministry of the Interior; and

as the police had dared interfere with one of her hotels in the Rue de Montyon, she had besought Almereyda's aid.

"Oh, I'm just the same fool, that I've always been," he cried out at last, throwing himself into a chair, and lighting another cigarette. "Wine, woman and drugs have always been my foes, have always prevented me from achieving success. With Caillaux and Malvy I should make millions out of this coming revolution. German money is all right, but it's dangerous and uncertain. What we want is a great *coup d' état*, in which we can throw out the financiers who now rule France, and take their places.

"But I must get that Lipscher story for Caillaux. Lipscher knew all about Calmette's contract with the Hungarian government, a contract which Caillaux wanted to exploit to the fullest degree possible to show that Calmette, being tied up with Hungary, could not accuse Caillaux of complicity with Germany.

"Then I should have had two other reporters assigned to follow Lipscher and the Duverger woman after the trial. Lipscher must get back to Berlin before France mobilizes, while Mme. Thérèse stays behind to keep him posted. If so she may get to drinking again, and tell all she knows to some handsome French captain, who will tip off the military authorities. Then my influence with Malvy and the Ministry of the Interior fails; and all our plans of keeping up communication with Berlin through Lipscher will collapse.

"Ugh, this cigarette is weak as water."

So saying he threw the smoking butt into a half drained wine glass, stripped off his coat, and turned up his sleeve to the shoulder. From an inside pocket he took a little black bottle and a needle syringe. A minute later he had driven the morphine into his veins, and sank back into his chair with folded arms.

The vicious frown which had contracted his features began to fade away. A strange smile overspread his face. His

eyes became lighted, as by an unseen torch. From his chair he rose as lightly as a feather, wafted upward by a puff of wind.

"Now, I'm master of myself at last," he exclaimed, stretching out his arms to feel the bouyant strength, with which they suddenly seemed to be endowed. "Now I can wade through the files and make up a report to Caillaux on all the articles we have printed since he first began pushing his plan for a reapproachment with Germany and a rupture with England.

"Caillaux gave me 40,000 francs on July 17, three days before the trial of his wife began. I am going to prove that he should give me still more for this earlier work. Well, let's see."

Shoving aside the dishes and bottles, Almereyda threw a file of the *Bonnet Rouge* on the table, and began making notes. The paper had been founded in 1913, and soon afterward the articles began to appear, which were intended to make France forget Germany's military designs, and by advocating a two year instead of a three year military service weaken her powers of defense.

Most of them bore the title:

"*Le rapprochement franco-allemand.*" (The Franco-German reapproachment.)

Among other editorials he found this special announcement, and his eyes glistened as he read it again, with all the joy of an author who at last sees his thoughts in print.

"The economic interests of France and Germany are more and more closely allied. It has been proved that the idea of revenge (arising from the Franco-Prussian war) has been abandoned by all the French people, including the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, as a monstrosity.

"We have the Entente with England, and, nevertheless, only a dozen years ago, England was for the French the hereditary enemy, the perfidious Albion.

"Remember Fachoda, which was for us a far graver injury than Agadir.

"Why then not forget what has happened between us and the Germans?

"The next Chamber of Deputies should have a majority favorable to a reapproachment with Germany. Republicans, who cherish the ambition of beholding France a great republic, merchants who prefer to see the result of their labors secure against danger or disaster, yes, all you electors, who are all powerful because of the ballot, should force your candidates to show where they stand on this question, and only vote for those who will bind themselves to work for the realization of this great plan, this great public good."

Further on he came across the reprint of a speech he made on May 11, 1907, at an anti-militaristic meeting at Rheims upon the subject, "*Patrie and Caserne.*" (Country and Barracks.) He read as follows:

"At the present moment, our propaganda should be illustrated by very serious acts. In case of war the proletariat should not be satisfied by saying:

" 'We will not move.'

"The people must do more than that. They must cause a disturbance. The women, the children, the old men must go to the railroad stations and prevent the conscripts from leaving and advise the reservists not to join the colors.

"Each fellow countryman should be non-patriotic. It should not make any difference to him, whether he is a German or a Frenchman."

Almereyda was still reading, when Jean returned. "I couldn't get the Havas cablegrams from New York," he said quietly. "My friend in the office of *Le Petit Parisien* said that he would be assassinated if he were known to be of any aid to the *Bonnet Rouge.* But I think I got what you want. It was cabled by another news service.

The editor in chief snatched the proof, which Jean took

from his pocket, and the moment his eyes fell upon it, he cried out in a transport of joy:

"Magnificent work, Jean. The newspapers of New York found Karolyi there, and interviewed him. He completely corroborates Caillaux."

Looking still closer at the slip of paper, Almereyda read:

"The New York *Times* of July 28, prints the following interview with Count Karolyi, leader of the Hungarian Radicals:

" 'The letters which I turned over to counsel for Mme. Caillaux indicated that they were part of prior communications and indicated clearly that Calmette had agreed for a certain consideration to support the Hungarian government, ignoring grafting scandals or applying "whitewash" to any exposures that could not be prevented.

" 'The letters show that an agreement was made between Calmette and the representative of the Hungarian government with the cognizance of Secretary of State Jeszenfsky, whereby he was to write favorable articles in support of the policy of the Hungarian government, although that policy was directly opposed to that of his own government, France; and was also in opposition to the friendship existing between Hungary and France. Calmette did this work, for the favorable articles were brought to my attention, as early as a year ago.

" 'Finally it was shown in the letter of Calmette, that he protested against some of the demands made upon him by the bribers, for he intimated that certain things the grafters wanted inserted in the *Figaro* were too strong even for its editor, when he was receiving pay for it. So he refused to comply with some specific things demanded of him.'

"Count Karolyi also said that Hungary must stand with Austria in the present war crisis, as the quarrel between them was only economic. The Count said that Caillaux

was his friend and that he had given the letters to Caillaux in Paris while on his way to the United States."

Almereyda looked a little further, and then read:

"The New York *Sun* of July 28 also prints an interview with Count Karolyi, in which he said:

" 'There were two letters, one from Calmette to the Hungarian government and the other from that government to him. They passed through the hands of a third party.' "

Almereyda embraced the cablegram, as if it were a dancing partner, and walzed around the room amid the litter of wine bottles, broken dishes, and cigarette stubs.

"Now, Jean," he said at last, catching himself just as he was falling to the floor from dizziness. "One more thing for you, and then you can take a rest. Go to the Hotel Terminus and see if Lipscher is registered there. If so, call me up here immediately. Lipscher was the third party, mentioned by Count Karolyi. We must get his complete story of this whole affair before he leaves France. Caillaux of course knows it and he will want us to use every detail. If necessary, spend money, but get the story. If you find him taking an early train, jump aboard also. Stick till you get everything."

Jean looked faltering at his master.

"Oh, yes, I know what's on your mind," laughed Almereyda, making a feint to hit the reporter with his fist. "You want to go home to your doll faced wife. Didn't I tell you, a newspaper man had no business to have a wife. Here. Here's money for your hotel bill and car fare. And don't come back till you get the Lipscher story."

The pacifism of Jean's nature was at the breaking point. He was about to remonstrate, when Almereyda reached out his hand and said more quietly.

"I wish I were as good as you, my boy. You don't know what the world is. You believe in peace for the sake of peace. You don't know that practically everything in life

has a false front, that life is one long fight to tear the mask off the other man's face, and still keep one on your own.

"You'll change. I was like you myself, before . . . ," but here he stopped himself. Even the morphine did not throw him completely off his guard. Almereyda saw for a moment the prison cell which had changed his life, but he waved the memory aside and again assuming a harder aspect, said:

"Hurry up, Jean. You have the money you need. Ring me up as soon as you get to the Hotel Terminus, and tell me if Lipscher is there."

Jean bowed his head, and went.

Throwing open the door of another room, Almereyda seated himself on a couch and began to undress. He took from around his neck a red ribbon from which hung a black cross. Placing it under his pillow he stretched out, and was dead asleep when the telephone rang at the head of his bed.

Almereyda reached one arm out of bed, and taking off the receiving and transmitting piece, listened.

"Left an hour ago, did he? All right, chase him. And if you don't get that story, remember, I'll kill you."

Without waiting for an answer, the Apache editor in chief turned over, and fell asleep again.

CHAPTER III

Caillaux Would Be Another Lenine

Awaited German Armies in Paris—Planned Coup d' Etat and Dictatorship—In Private Life But Still Powerful—Controlled State Affairs through Malvy

It was 3 a. m., when Jean reached the Hotel Terminus opposite the great St. Lazare railroad station. He found only one clue. Lipscher and a woman had left the hotel between one and two o'clock in a taxi cab after giving instructions that a small, brown, leather trunk should be held at the hotel until further instructions. Accordingly, there was nothing else to do but watch the trunk. The porter who saw them get into the taxi cab had gone home. If he went after the porter, Jean thought, he might lose the trunk.

After calling Marie on the telephone and explaining the situation despite such interruptions, as, "Oh, that's awful!" "Why do you work so hard?" "Can't they let you come home," he slumped into a chair in the lobby and tried to rest. He did not dare sleep. The warning of his master still rang in his ears. Furthermore, he had the true instinct of a reporter, that, if once he left the trail, he would not find it again.

Other thoughts beside Lipscher also worried him. As he had come through the Rue St. Lazare, he had seen several detachments of soldiers standing within the shadows of the station. Now and then a troop of artillery could be heard rattling over the pavement of the Boulevard Haussmann a few blocks away. Mounted police patrolled the streets. The

very atmosphere seemed charged with some terrific force, struggling to burst forth, like lightning from a thunder cloud.

As he approached nearer the soldiers, he recognized two men whom he had seen in the offices of the *Bonnet Rouge*, distributing circulars. Some of the troops threw them into the gutter at first glance. Others read them intently, and then carefully folded and tucked them away. One of the pamphlets, which the wind swept down the street, he picked up. It was no other than Almereyda's 1907 anti-militaristic harangue at Rheims. Some of the sentences were printed in larger and blacker type, as for example:

"THE PEOPLE MUST DO MORE THAN THAT. THEY MUST CAUSE A DISTURBANCE. THE WOMEN, THE CHILDREN, THE OLD MEN MUST GO TO THE RAILROAD STATIONS AND PREVENT THE CONSCRIPTS FROM LEAVING AND ADVISE THE RESERVISTS NOT TO JOIN THE COLORS."

One of the extras, which he bought from a newspaper woman, who still kept open her kiosk despite the fact that it was long past midnight, contained these alarming headlines:

"Austria Declares War at Germany's Bidding."

"Russia Threatens to Send Army to Aid Servia."

"Austria's Belligerent Move Resulted From Germany's Rejection of Lord Grey's Plan for a Conference of Ambassadors at London."

"France Will Not Mobilize Until Every Effort to Prevent a General European War Has Been Exhausted. French Soldiers to Guard Against Socialistic Outbreaks."

Further on in another column Jean found this article:

"A delegation of Unified Socialists visited M. Bienvenu Martin, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, and asked him about his interview with Baron von Schoen, the German Ambassador, who has been saying right along that Germany was willing to mediate.

"The Socialistic committee had gone to M. Bienvenu Martin, because of a meeting of fifty Unified Socialist deputies earlier in the day. It presented to the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs the resolution adopted by the deputies, that intervention by Russia would only extend the evil and make German imperialism more aggressive. The resolution concluded:

" 'France should not become involved in such a formidable conflict because of secret treaties.' "

As Jean sat in the lobby pondering over the startling developments of the last twenty-four hours, he said to himself.

"If we are dragged into this war, I must go to the front. What then will poor Marie do? She is soon to be a mother. She cannot go out to work. She has no money. I am over my head in debt for the furniture for the flat. She'll be thrown into the streets. She'll starve. She'll die."

So saturated had Jean become with all the insidious propaganda of pacifism, with which the Germans had been flooding France for many years before the war, using not only their paid agents but a vast number of socialists and dreamers, like Jean, who never for an instant realized they were really working for the enemy; that in that crucial hour he was thinking not of his native land, not of France and all her glorious traditions; but of his own little life. He had forgotten that he owed everything to his country and those who had fought and died for it in the heroic past. He did not realize that idealistic pacifism is nothing more than idealistic selfishness.

The day dawned, and Jean still waited.

Meanwhile, the enemy within, the vast, sinister power of Prussian intrigue in all the circles of French life was laboring unceasingly to weaken and undermine the republic. Anarchists, socialists, pacifists were arranging meetings, distributing pamphlets, filling their newspapers with frenzied appeals to keep France out of the war.

Caillaux was in constant touch with the head of his formidable Radical Socialist party, which held the balance of power in the Chamber of Deputies, and threatened to overthrow any Premier, who happened to provoke its antagonism.

Although Caillaux was out of the cabinet, Malvy remained Minister of the Interior, and through Malvy Caillaux was able to learn the inmost secrets of the government.

The news which Paris saw on the bulletin boards of July 29 still further increased the feeling of dire apprehension, that some great and fearful tragedy was about to engulf the nation. The crowds on the Boulevard Poissonnière, at the corner of Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, where the offices of *Le Matin* are located, almost broke into a riot, when some socialists began to cry, "*A Bas la Guerre,*" "*Vive Caillaux.*" Meantime, these bulletins were posted:

"Austrian Gun BoatsBombard Belgrade."

"Germany Warns Russia to Halt Army, Yet Prepares for War Herself."

Along the Avenue des Champs Élysées still greater multitudes assembled to welcome the homecoming of President Poincaré from Russia. This vast thoroughfare, the broadest and most stately of all the great boulevards of Paris, with the vast, looming bulk of the Arc de Triomphe at one end and the obelisk of the Place de la Concorde at the other, seemed to all who gathered there like an arena where some fearful tragedy was soon to be enacted.

At last President Poincaré was seen, bowing to this side and that. His face wore a strange, tense look, which at first filled the crowd with alarm, but which, as soon as he smiled, drove the populace into a frenzy of patriotic fervor, a tempest of handclappings, cheers, and cries:

"*Vive la France.*"

"*Vive la République.*"

"*Vive le Président.*"

Escorting President Poincaré marched thousands of eager

faced youth, who wore the insignia of the League of Patriots, organized by a man, who later was to play an extremely important part in sending various members of the "Great Conspiracy" to traitors' graves. This man was Maurice Barrès. Even before the war he was constantly at work both in and out of the Chamber of Deputies, combatting the pestilential forces of Prussian pacifism.

The day passed. Jean was still waiting at the Hotel Terminus, when suddenly he was called to the telephone. The voice was that of Almereyda.

"Drop the assignment," it said. "Forget it. Report here at 6 p. m.

"But my wife," cried Jean, before he could catch himself.

"Ha, ha. Well, put her in a bag and drop her into the Seine," laughed Almereyda. "Remember, 6 o'clock."

Jean reported at 6 o'clock, and all that night toiled away over his typewriter, assembling material for another great attack against the "militarists" and "imperialists" of France.

At the same time that his faithful followers were crying in the streets, "Down with the war," "We must have peace," Caillaux was laying his plans for a great *coup d' état*, by which he hoped to be the head of a new and socialistic France. He expected to rally beneath his standard not only the Radical Socialists, the members of his own party, including even those of more moderate leanings, but also the most extreme and violent exponents of out and out anarchy.

As a result of the election of May 10, 1914, the 602 deputies elected for four years, were divided into the following factions:

Radical Socialists, (Caillaux's party)	136
United Socialists, (Led by Jaurès)	102
Independent Socialists	30
Independent Radicals and Republicans of the Left	102

Democratic Alliance	100
Progressives and Federated Republicans	54
National Liberals	34
Right, composed of Royalists and extreme Conservatives	26
Independents	18
	602

The extreme socialist party, with Jaurès at his head, gained 27 seats. Its opposition to the three year term of military service was uncompromising. Like Caillaux's followers, the United Socialists favored less powerful armaments.

The Three Years' Military Service Law was passed by the Chamber on July 19, 1913, by 358 votes against 204. It repealed the Two Year Law of 1905. Had Caillaux and Jaurès been successful in their fight against a three year service army, in the elections of May 10, 1914, the military system of France would have been upset and completely demoralized at the very moment that Germany was preparing to strike.

To understand how blind, or worse than blind these socialists were, one need only read the following utterance of Jaurès, written just before the war:

"The question of military organization has been the center of the greatest political and social battle that has convulsed the French democracy for many years. Early in 1913, the government of M. Barthou, taking up a policy announced by the short lived Briand ministry called upon Parliament to repeal the Two Years' Service Law of 1905 and again to impose upon the citizens the obligation of serving for three years in the so-called active army, the army of the barracks. It was supported by all the forces of conservatism and reaction, by all the parties of the Center and the Right, also, by a notable fraction of the Radicals, . . . by all who take their marching orders from the

aggressive nationalism of M. Clemenceau, and by all those whose hands were tied through the fact that they owed their seats to preëlection deals with reactionary elements in their various districts." (Metropolitan Magazine, Sept., 1914.)

Little did Jaurès dream, when he wrote those words, that the day would finally come, when the "aggressive nationalism of M. Clemenceau" would save the France, which the Jaurès and Caillaux socialists did all in their power to weaken.

Although out of the Cabinet, Caillaux was still a Deputy. His faithful constituents in the Department of the Sarthe reëlected him in spite of the murder of Calmette and all the stories of his secret alliances with the traditional enemy of France beyond the Rhine. Caillaux still hoped, therefore, that, by alliance with the Jaurès socialists and other factions in the Chamber, he could again dominate France.

In the rank and file of his party he thought he still held the support of that army of small farmers and trades people, who had come to believe that the highly centralized and bureaucratic government of France was controlled by an oligrachy of Paris financiers, and was as despotic, as full of favoritism, wire pulling, intrigue and corruption, as the old time courts of crowned and sceptered royalty..

These members of the Radical Socialist party had long looked to Caillaux and their other representatives in the Chamber of Deputies to protect them against oppression, against taxes they believed unfair, against a militarism which German propaganda had made them think unnecessarily burdensome, against petty bureaucratic abuses and scandals, where big interests triumphed over small.

A considerable part of Caillaux's old following was also made up of café proprietors and liquor people, who sought his championship against the constantly growing sentiment inimical to strong drink, against the movement which had already put an end to the public sale of absinth, and

which also demanded the prohibition of all kinds of alcoholic beverages, except light wines and beers.

Added to all these, there was also a powerful contingent of office holders, who had first been led to the public trough by Caillaux, and thought they could keep their snouts in the national treasury, as long as Caillaux and his man, Malvy, had a dominating voice in the government. Many of these sycophants had even received their money direct from Caillaux, money which was called "campaign funds," and which was thankfully accepted without further inquiry.

For many years Caillaux had been building his house. Since 1863, the year of his birth, he had always lived in a political atmosphere. He had studied French statecraft with grammar and algebra. Wise far beyond his years he was always interested most in the financial side of French politics. From the very beginning he sought to fit himself for the profession of making politics pay.

His father was a bourgeois banker and man of wealth. The elder Caillaux had held political office, and although of exclusive tastes and royalist tendences, he supported the young republic. The younger Caillaux was by nature much more of a royalist than his father, but he saw that the days of the throne and ermine, of absolutism in its outward and traditional forms, had passed away and in its place had come the absolutism of wealth.

A plutocrat of plutocrats, Caillaux became a socialist of socialists. Secretly connected with the greatest financiers of France and Germany, he publicly appeared as the friend of the poor and the down trodden. Living in palatial style, the host at extravagantly sumptuous dinners, to which he invited the most exclusive of aristocracy, he also was to be found in the ill-smelling corridors of the headquarters of the Radical Socialists, the "Salons de Valois," as the sign read over the door. But always he kept on his gloves. Always he walked so fast that the herd never had a chance to clasp

even his gloved hand. Nevertheless, he was popular. Gloves or no gloves, his fingers always dispensed money.

Down in the Department of the Sarthe, which Caillaux represented in the Chamber of Deputies as soon as he begun his political career, his power was absolute. He saw to it that his constituency obtained all the favors within reach; that new roads and new bridges were built, and old roads and old bridges repaired; that handsome public buildings were erected, even though more expensive and more ornate than occasion demanded; that badges and medals were forthcoming for all who wanted them, that the wives and the children were remembered in many pretty ways; that, in brief, the Department of the Sarthe got as much out of the national strong box as Caillaux could possible extract.

Thus it happened, that even despite all the scandals with which his later life was clouded, the Department of the Sarthe kept him in the Chamber of Deputies. At Mamers, his country home, his constituents refused to believe the ugly stories some newspapers printed about him. There were a few, even, who never, never would be convinced that Mme. Caillaux killed Calmette.

"It was all a lie, the work of political enemies. Calmette simply went into hiding," they insisted.

Caillaux's fortune dated back to his first years in the Chamber, and it seemed to grow by leaps and bounds ever since that time. At the trial of his wife, he asserted that he had inherited 1,200,000 francs, and that his wealth had never increased. There are others who say that at the height of his power, Caillaux's riches were ten to twenty times greater than his own estimate.

Caillaux's rise had been continuous. He was first an inspector of finances, and later under the Premiership of Waldeck-Rousseau, he became Minister of Finance. From that time on Caillaux tried to keep his hands on the money of France. He continued to be Minister of Finance under

other Premiers and he kept this portfolio during his own Premiership. At one time, according to Calmette and the *Figaro*, he juggled the income tax question in such fashion as to cause tremendous fluctuations in *rentes* on the Paris Bourse, as the result of which his friends are said to have reaped millions.

Upon such a foundation, Caillaux hoped finally to become the master of France. He schemed to let German aggression overthrow everything else and lift him to the supreme heights of his imperial ambition.

Papers in a safe deposit box, which Caillaux rented in the Banca Italiana di Sconto, in Florence, Italy, and seized by the Italian police years afterward, now make it possible to reveal his plans of a great *coup d' état* in considerable detail.

First of all, the socialists in the army were to mutiny and demand that Caillaux become First Consul. On assuming this office, he intended to throw aside old time conventions and order the arrest of all antagonistic to his rule. Among the names of those doomed to immediate imprisonment were found those of President Poincaré, and the two former Premiers, Clemenceau and Briand.

To accomplish the destruction of Poincaré and Clemenceau, Caillaux had obtained various documents from the *Sûreté Générale*, or secret service bureau of the Department of the Interior, of which his henchman, Malvy, had charge. Such documents are known in France as the "pink papers." They include the confidential reports of detectives assigned to special investigations, the reports of police concerning the movements of suspects, and all other information from every source to uncover crime or unmask the wiles of intrigue and corruption.

Among the "pink papers" may also be found all manner of correspondence, as for example anonymous complaints against public officials from enemies who wish to attack them in this secret and insidious way.

The "pink papers" relating to President Poincaré, according to *La Vérité*, a socialistic organ, which defended Caillaux, gave alleged details of an agreement, by which the President's civil marriage would be consecrated, if in return he would work for the re-establishment of relations between France and the Vatican. There were negotiations, *La Vérité* asserted, in which M. Klotz, Stephen Pinchon and ex-Ambassador Tittoni used a cipher, the key of which was lost by the Ministry of the Interior. President Poincaré and all the other men mentioned in this affair have stamped this story as false.

Against Clemenceau Caillaux was said to have gathered together various charges which relate to Clemenceau's visit to London during the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry. Clemenceau was to be painted by Caillaux, as the servant of England, the man who planned to make France, a British vassal. The attack against Clemenceau was to harmonize completely with the anti-British, pro-German policy which Caillaux had been fostering in every possible way in France long before the war.

In the Cabinet, which Caillaux planned, Malvy was to enjoy still greater power. The Prefecture of Police, vitally important in suppressing counter revolution, was to be given to M. Cecaldi, one of Caillaux's counsel at the Calmette murder trial. A number of Generals, which had particularly distinguished themselves, were to be side-tracked, and Gen. Sarrail was to be put in complete charge of the army.

Why General Sarrail? When the war became blackest for the Allies, was not General Sarrail suddenly removed from command of the French Army in Macedonia? To answer these questions, it will be necessary in a later chapter to consider the charges made by Léon Daudet, editor of the royalist paper, *L' Action Française,* that certain vitally important documents, abstracted from Gen. Sarrail's head-

quarters, found their way into the hands of a Caillaux editor, from whom they were said to have travelled to a Mannheim banker, stationed in Switzerland, and thence to the Kaiser.

In his dream of empire Caillaux planned to curtail the power of Senate and Chamber of Deputies, by compelling them to enact a measure making him a virtual dictator.

On July 30, the day after President Poincaré's return from Russia, Caillaux and Malvy were still more frequently in consultation. It was on this day also that Malvy issued a statement, which at the time seemed harmless, but which in the light of later events assumed a tragic significance.

There had been a meeting of the Cabinet, at which President Poincaré presented the Russian situation in much detail. Reports were also read which indicated that Germany was moving heaven and earth in her preparations for striking not only Russia but France. The meeting was in secret, and each one present was pledged to preserve secrecy. Nevertheless, immediately afterward, Minister of the Interior Malvy permitted himself to be quoted as follows:

"We have received news from Germany for which we did not dare to hope. The situation is now better than has generally been supposed. It is possible to foresee a moment when negociations may enter upon a way leading to a favorable solution of the whole matter."

The next day, July 31, the news bulletins became still more alarming. While Jean was still toiling over his typewriter in the *Bonnet Rouge* office, Almereyda entered with an extra on which were blazoned these ominious headlines:

"Germany in State of War."

"British Fleet Off for North Sea."

"Russia Calls Out Reserves."

"Panic in United States. New York Stock Exchange Closes."

The Apache editor in chief threw the paper on the floor and stamping on it, exclaimed:

"Let the war come. It will be a great knife, which will cut out the old, dead wood in France, and help us build this nation anew. We will have a great socialistic state, and the friends of Caillaux will be supreme."

"How about the arrest of all those in Carnet B?" asked a shaggy headed youth, who was trying to puff a cigarette, so short that it fairly burned his fingers. "Does the gang go to jail?"

"Nobody goes to jail," laughed Almereyda. "I have seen Malvy about that."

As his Apache visitor left the room, Almereyda took out of his desk a paper, from which he poured a little white powder upon a thumbnail, and sniffed it like snuff. It was his regular afternoon potion of cocaine. Jean could not help but see it all, and shuddered. There was something so diabolical, so supernaturally evil about the man. Almereyda caught Jean's almost frightened glance, and called him to his desk with unusual gruffness.

"Forget that Lipscher affair," he muttered. "Don't ever speak to anyone about either Lipscher, or the woman. That's all. Go."

CHAPTER IV

Malvy, Cabinet Minister, Friend of Foe

The Dummy of Caillaux—His Socialistic and Labor Following—His Friendship for Almereyda and the Bonnet Rouge Gang—His Private Life—A Gambler—Caillaux protected by Bernstorff

Within the next few hours France was plunged deep in the conflict. On August 1, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia. She had already begun her attack on France. Throughout all the highways and byways, on land and sea, the armed forces of the Republic were mobilizing. The drum beat and the strains of the Marseillaise were heard on every side. All the traditional heroism of the French nation—the same spirit that marched to victory beneath the imperial colors of Napoleon—that had also emerged triumphant from the throes of revolution—burst forth now in all its old time glory.

The patriotism of the French people was aroused to such a fury, that the anarchists and pacifists seemed overawed. Their plans for an "anti imperialistic" revolt were for the time abandoned. German agents, spies, communists, and all the rest of this same ilk, were indiscriminately swallowed up in the great military machine, which had sprung up over night.

The assassination of Jaurès, the great Unified Socialist leader alarmed not only his party followers, but also many other anti militarists with the fear of a like fate. On the night of July 31, he was dining with several members of

the staff of *L' Humanité*, of which he was editor, in the Croissant, a famous restaurant near the Bourse. The party sat at a table near an open window facing the Rue Montmartre. Suddenly, a hand holding a revolver was thrust in through the window from the street and, before anyone could seize the gun, it fired two bullets into the back of the socialist leader's head. Without hardly more than a moan Jaurès fell forward upon the table. He died within a few minutes.

The assassin was Raoul Villain, a clerk of the civil court at Rheims. From his actions and utterances, he was thought to be demented. His mother for twenty years had been an inmate of an insane asylum.

"I killed Jaurès, because he betrayed the country in leading the campaign against the three year military law," he said. "I believe one must punish traitors, and if I can give my life to such a cause, I shall feel my duty has been accomplished. I do not belong to any revolutionary or reactionary league. To kill Jaurès was my own idea."

For a time, it was feared that the Socialists in a revulsion of feeling might precipitate a governmental crisis, but Premier Viviani warded off the storm by taking immediate precautions. In a statement, which he issued the same night, he said:

"A most abominable crime has been committed. M. Jaurès was a statesman and orator who gave distinction to the Chamber of Deputies. He has been assassinated in the most cowardly way, and personally and on behalf of my Colleagues I bow before the tomb so suddenly opened for this Socialist Republican, who struggled for such noble causes and who in trying times patriotically sustained the authority of the Government in the interest of peace."

In this hour only words of praise for the dead socialist were heard. It was realized, even by his most bitter critics, that his pacifism was that of an idealist, even though it had played into the hands of the foes of France.

When Caillaux heard of the death of Jaurès, he took even greater precautions to guard himself against similar attack. The servants in his house were instructed to keep constant watch, lest a stranger work his way in under cover of some specious pretext, and try to assassinate the master. Caillaux was thought by many to have left Paris for his country place at Mamers.

Malvy, Caillaux's dummy in the Ministry of the Interior, found it necessary therefore to assume outwardly at least the responsibilities and duties of his chief. At the same time that Caillaux hid himself more and more from public view. Malvy became more and more active in the open. Malvy tried to hold together, as best he could, the demoralized forces of the Caillaux faction. He kept in constant touch with Almereyda, the chieftain of the Caillaux's body guard, and many others who were secretly spreading the pestilence of hatred and falsehood, of pacifism and defeatism, and who were ever ready to join in a socialistic revolution, that would make Caillaux the ruler of France.

The Ministry of the Interior is almost within stone's throw of the Élysée Palace, where lives the President of France. It is a irregularly shaped building with one wing facing on the Rue des Saussaies and another on the Rue Cambacérès.

From the corner windows of the President's palace, looking out on the Rue du Faubourg Saint Honoré, one can almost see down the Rue Combacérès and recognize the visitors at the Ministry of the Interior, that go and come by this route.

Here President Poincaré, had he known at that time all the plottings of the enemies of France within her own borders, could have seen Almereyda on the day, when all France was arming for the war, hurrying through the crowd, and at last disappearing behind the portals of the neighboring building, where Malvy, the Caillaux viceroy, ruled supreme.

The doorkeeper, the sentries, all the petty officials that

lie between the outside sidewalk and the deeply recessed chamber, in which the Minister kept himself in stately seclusion, knew Almereyda, and let him pass by with a bow of welcome. They saw only his smartly tailored clothes, his quick, eager stride, his searching eyes, and shaggy hair. They had come to understand, that he was a particular friend of their chief, and to their minds that qualification furnished all the necessary credentials. They noticed that he was never kept waiting in the outside office, that he came and went at all hours, and sometimes carried to and fro under his arm, what appeared to be the documents of the office, as if they were his own.

The interview between Malvy and Almereyda at this time determined the fate of more than 2,500 anarchists and anti militarists, whose names were listed in the Carnet B.

The conversation behind the closed doors of Malvy's inner office can now be reproduced from documents in the possession of the present French government.

"I understand that Clemenceau and some others want the Carnet B crowd sent to prison," said Almereyda.

"Yes, I am being urged to carry out the old law," replied Malvy. "So far, I have taken no action."

"You must arrest no one. You must issue an order to that effect at once."

And Malvy issued the order.

In Carnet B was Almereyda's own name, and marked against it was his long criminal record. There too were the names of all of Caillaux's Corsican Guard, of Sébastien Faure, and over two thousand more plotters against France. All were permitted to go free, and in the army, the navy, in the trenches, among the reserves, or in various spheres of civil life, they were still able to work for the triumph of the foe.

During the next ten days, the German guns began pounding to pieces the fortresses of Liége, and the Kaiser was

massing still greater armies for the thrust through Belgium into France. Every hour the situation in Paris became more critical. The French armies were being stationed in the most strategic places to meet the enemy's advance, which, if it could not be checked, would permit the Huns to beseige Paris. At this time any information transmitted to the Germans concerning the plans of the French military leaders, might permit the enemy to triumph at the very onset.

The military police, accordingly, became most active. They tried to round up all who might be suspected as spies or as interfering in any way with military operations. They picked up not a few of the criminals, which Malvy's civil police had allowed to go free.

Almereyda made another hurried visit to Malvy's inner office. He protested. He insisted that the men who had been thrown into prison were innocent, that such arrests were in violation of the promises which Malvy had made when the war began.

"They are my friends, I will vouch for them," said Almereyda.

The appeal of the King of the Apaches met with instant approbation at the Ministry of the Interior. A note was dictated, bearing date of August 10, 1914, accompanying a list of names which Almereyda had submitted to Malvy and transmitted to M. Laurent, Prefect of Police, which read:

"It would be desirable that the persons who figure in this list and for whom M. Almereyda, who is trustworthy, can answer, be set free as soon as possible."

And at once the gang was liberated.

During all this time Malvy and Caillaux were in constant communication. Ever since he took an important part in politics, Malvy had never been more than Caillaux's tool. He was the type of man, who believes that success results easiest from following another who possesses greater power,

and, if possible, some day succeeding to that power. In the ward politics of Tammany Hall he would be popularly known as an "organization man." He was younger than Caillaux, more modest, but just as ambitious.

Caillaux found early that Malvy could be trusted in the various coups, which Caillaux executed with such dexterity as to mystify the outside public completely. Malvy was permitted to know how the trick was done. Malvy was a good wirepuller, a good fixer. He could be commissioned by Caillaux to this or that confidential mission, and his master felt assured that all the details would be carefully attended to.

Malvy also spared Caillaux the task of shaking hands with the common herd, a task which Caillaux abhorred. Malvy met the "boys" in the headquarters of the Radical Socialists, brought them Caillaux's messages and Caillaux's francs.

If Malvy made any money out of politics, he apparently did not keep it. He confessed freely to all his friends, that he loved the card table and the roulette wheel altogether too much. Many times, when he came in the morning to his office, pale and haggard, and hardly more than looked at his mail before hurrying away to *déjeuner* and an afternoon sleep, he would casually explain that he had been gambling all night long, and had lost.

In the street Malvy always sought the opportunity of greeting friends. At times when Caillaux would ride past his constituents behind the drawn curtains of his limousine, with a body guard of Almereyda's Apaches before and behind, Malvy would stroll along the sidewalk, bowing and smiling to all who recognized him and returned his words of greeting.

Malvy, like Caillaux, had behind him the powerful following of the Radical Socialists. He had also the sympathy of the Unified Socialists, who represented the labor unions, the working men, and the anti capitalists.

As Minister of the Interior, Malvy controlled the police machinery throughout France. The prefects of police were his subordinates. The *Sûreté Générale*, or secret service bureau, which contains most of the skeletons from the closets of everybody, who builds houses with secret closets, was also under his immediate control. Its director was also a subordinate of the Minister of the Interior.

Having all this power in his hands, Malvy was able to exert a tremendous influence in elections, and there were many scores of Deputies who felt they owed him more than a vote of thanks. So popular had he become among the leaders of his own party, that they demanded his retention in the Cabinet, no matter who might be the Premier. He, therefore, served, as Minister of the Interior, in the war Cabinet of Viviani, the coalition Cabinet of Briand, and the centralized Cabinet of Ribot. He did not fall until Clemenceau, braver than any of his predecessors, tore the mask from his face.

Meantime, the tide of war was rolling ever nearer Paris. On August 20 the Germans had crashed through the first defenses of Belgium, forcing the Belgian line to fall back on Louvain. King Albert and his court, with all the state departments and state archives, had fled from Brussels to Antwerp. Brussels fell into the hands of the enemy and the Germans redoubled their attacks in the drive toward Paris.

By September 5 the First German Army, pouring into France from the north, was making every possible effort to turn the French left. Francis A. March, in his "History of the World War," has described the situation in France during this crisis, as follows:

"The First Germany Army, carrying audacity to temerity, had continued its endeavor to envelop the French left, had crossed the Grand Morin, and reached the region of Chauffry, to the south of Rebais and of Esternay. It aimed

then at cutting Joffre off from Paris, in order to begin the investment of the capital.

"The Second Army had its head on the line Champaubert, Etoges, Bergères, and Vertus.

"The Third and Fourth Armies reached to Châlons-sur-Marne and Bussy-le-Repos. The Fifth Army was advancing from the Argonne as far as Triaucourt-les-Ilettes and Juivecourt. The Sixth and Seventh armies were attacking more to the East.

"The French left army had been able to occupy the line Sezanne, Villers-St. Georges and Courchamps. This was precisely the disposition which the General in Chief had wished to see achieved. On the 4th he decided to take advantage of it, and ordered all the armies to hold themselves ready. On the evening of the 5th, he addressed to all the commanders of armies a message ordering them to attack.

" 'The hour has come,' he wrote, 'to advance at all costs and to die where you stand rather than give way.' "

Then followed the First Battle of the Marne, in which during seven days of heroic fighting, the French broke through the advanced lines of the Germans and driving them back in disorder, saved Paris, and recaptured half of the invaded districts of northeastern France.

During these lurid days, when the fate of the French Republic hung in the balance, Caillaux remained in Paris. The President and Cabinet, all the departments of government, the governmental records, and most of the men of wealth and their families had sought refuge in Bordeaux. For the time being the chief seaport of the Bay of Biscay had become the capital of France.

But Caillaux remained behind. Even when the German guns had reached Conesse, only twelve miles away from the outskirts of Paris, Caillaux lingered. He stayed but to see the Germans defeated, the Hun tide of invasion turned back, the "contemptible British Army" holding the foe with uncon-

querable heroism, the plans of a socialistic revolution abandoned by even the most daring of his followers, and his own life in still greater jeopardy. Meantime, he entered the army, as a paymaster.

On October 22, 1914, Caillaux and his wife were riding in an open cab along the Boulevard des Capucines which lies between the great, columned Church of the Madeleine, and the Opera. On either side were gathered the usual crowds, which even in spite of the war assembled on the sidewalks in front of the cafés and brasseries for an afternoon glass of wine or a cup of coffee.

As they were about to turn into the Place de la Opéra, where a half dozen boulevards and avenues converge like the spokes of a gigantic wheel, someone recognized Caillaux, and the news spread like wildfire. Many of the spectators did not know that Caillaux had gone into the army, until they saw him riding past them in the full uniform of an army paymaster. His wife wore the white armlet of the Red Cross. Of a sudden a woman cried:

"*Voilà Caillaux, l' espion Allemand.*"

(There is Caillaux, the Germany spy.)

The multitude surged toward the Caillaux carriage as if to seize its occupants and drag them through the streets. Caillaux protested, but the crowd only become the more furious.

"*A bas Caillaux.*" "*Mort pour l' espion Allemand,*" "*Mort pour le traitre*" (Down with Caillaux) (Death for the German spy) (Death for the traitor) were some of the cries which greeted the man, who once was Premier of France.

From somewhere a volley of dirt picked up from a pile of refuse in a back areaway fell upon Caillaux and his wife, and amid the storm of missles a filthy, long bundle of rags, such as are used to turn the water to right or left when flushing the street descended into Mme. Caillaux's lap. Caillaux's face turned an ashen white. Shielding his eyes with one arm,

CAILLAUX

"The Master Mind behind the Great Conspiracy. He would have destroyed France to mount to greater power upon its ruins."

he lifted his wife from the carriage with the other, and fought his way through the mob to a closed cab, which hurried off as fast as its little, snorting motor could propel it.

The next that Paris heard of Caillaux was a report, printed Oct. 30, that he was spending a fortnight in a fortress because of a speech he had made to troops in the trenches. The Duke de Rohan told the story in the Chamber of Deputies, as follows:

"Caillaux this week went to Doulens, where he found reservists and territorials belonging to his political constituency. He said to them:

" 'You seem to be undergoing tremendous hardships. If any of you would like to be transferred to a less dangerous position, you have only to tell me. The situation is exceedingly grave, for we are fighting the world alone. The British troops are of no assistance to us.' "

Finding that he could not carry on his secret negotiations with Germany without going to some neutral country, Caillaux hurried his plans for a trip to South America. Finally, on Nov. 14, 1914, Caillaux and his wife left Bordeaux on the steamship, Perou, bound for Puerto Cabella and La Guayra in Venezuela. There were all kinds of stories printed at the time to explain Caillaux's going. One was that he had gone into enforced exile. Another explained that he intended to go to Brazil for the purpose of obtaining Brazilian raw materials and foodstuffs for France, that formerly were imported from Germany and Austria. It was also reported that Caillaux would inquire into the proposed reorganization of the French South American cables and would attempt to replace the German lines operated by way of Teneriffe, Monrovia and Pernambuco.

Beneath all this camouflage Caillaux redoubled his efforts to bring about his long prepared scheme of splitting the Entente by stirring up a hatred of England among the

French people, concluding a separate peace between France and Germany, and bringing Italy and Spain into the war on the side of the Central Powers. At this time Italy was still neutral. She did not declare war against Austria until May 23, 1915, and against Germany until Aug. 28, 1915. In South America at this time the position of Germany was in urgent need of such a master of intrigue, as Caillaux. None of the countries of the New World except Canada had ever thought of entering the war, and Germany was making every effort to use these neutral nations to her own advantage.

It had long been the hope of Berlin to create a great Latin league, hostile to England. Accordingly all kinds of German propaganda to inflame the Latin mind with jealousies and hatred of Great Britain and the Anglo Saxon were scattered throughout South and Central America. In Mexico these seeds of pestilence found a peculiarly fertile soil. Germany easily persuaded many Mexicans to believe that the United States had all the Anglo Saxon iniquities of England, and many more, and while Mexican bandits crossed the Rio Grande on missions of murder and rapine German agents in the United States tried to involve this country in a war with Mexico, which would prevent us from furnishing the Allies with arms and munitions.

At this time the German Embassy in Washington became the great clearing house for all the German espionage and intrigue in the New World. Bernstorff, under the cloak of the Swedish diplomatic service and through other hidden channels, kept Berlin informed of the movements of ships, the employment and payment of German spies, the destruction by bombs and fires of munition plants and factories engaged in making war supplies, the many mysterious strikes and acts of sabotage all over the United States, which were all planned to cripple the cause of the Allies.

When Caillaux reached the Argentine, he found a very

active and powerful German influence, not only in trade circles, but in politics. He found that it reached the very top of the government.

In Buenos Ayres Caillaux got in touch with Count Luxburg, German Minister to Argentina, who will always be remembered as having best revealed the German policy of brutality and dissimulation in his "sunk without a trace" cablegram.

A policy much the same as this had long been followed by Caillaux. He had long tried to sink the French ship of State without leaving a trace of his perfidy. In Count Luxburg, therefore, he found a peculiarly congenial partner. The two of course were never seen together. They sought to work without leaving a trace of their joint enterprise. Through go-betweens and in other ways Caillaux informed Luxburg of his ceaseless efforts to bring about a separate peace with France and the establishment of a great Latin combination, that would help Germany destroy England.

One of those who carried messages back and forth between Luxburg and Caillaux was Count James Minotto, a German nobleman with an Italian name, a son-in-law of Louis F. Swift, the Chicago packer, who was living in Buenos Ayres at this time.

Minotto was caught in the United States, after he had tried to obtain a place in the United States Naval Intelligence Service. After a period of internment in the prison near Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., he was brought to New York City and examined by the Attorney General of New York State who was acting for the French Government. Confronted by incontrovertible evidence, whcih had already been obtained from other sources, Minotto confessed. He said that his mother before her marriage was Agnes Sorna, a famous German actress. In New York City, he said, she had won

special fame as the star of Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell," produced in German at the old Irving Place Theatre.

In Argentina, Minotto told everybody that he was employed by a great New York banking institution. Under this camouflage he got into communication with Luxburg, and during the time he was in the Argentine capital he was in conference with Luxburg nearly every day. He was also in almost daily touch with Caillaux, and thus he came to know many of the details of the great plot to disrupt the Entente with a separate French peace and an anti British Latin alliance. In these details, Minotto said, Malvy figured constantly, as Caillaux's chief representative in France, who as a Cabinet Minister could keep Caillaux in touch with all the inner secrets of French governmental affairs.

Investigations also revealed the fact that Minotto had been in touch with Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States, through whom Luxburg sent many of his communications to Berlin.

Before Caillaux returned to France, German raiders in the South Atlantic had been capturing and sinking the vessels not only of the belligerent nations, but also of neutrals. For example, the William P. Frye, an American bark, on January 28, 1915, fell a prey to the German sea wolves. It was generally believed that the Teutons maintained secret bases on the South American coast where they received wireless instructions from Berlin for their voyages of piratical adventure.

Ever fearing for his life, Caillaux besought even the protection of the enemy. His appeal was granted, as shown in the following message, which Bernstorff received in Washington by way of Havana, and on February 4, 1915, forwarded to Berlin:

"Tol. Rio de Janeiro, telegraphs:

" 'Steamer Araguaya left Buenos Ayres Jan. 30. The

Captain is carrying important papers. Capture very desirable. Caillaux is on board. In case of capture Caillaux should, in an unobstrusive way, be treated with courtesy and consideration. Can you inform our cruisers?

"'BERNSTORFF.'"

Another message, which also reveals the terror in Caillaux's mind was sent by Bernstorff to Berlin accompanying the first cablegram. It read:

"Buenos Ayres telegraphed the following:

"'Caillaux has left Buenos Ayres after a short stay, and is going direct to France, evidently on account of the (undecipherable) scandal, which he regards as a personal attack upon himself. He speaks contemptuously of the President and the rest of the French government, with the exception of Briand. He sees through the policy of England perfectly. He does not anticipate the complete overthrow of France. He sees in the war now a struggle for existence on the part of England.

"'Although he spoke much of the "indiscretions and clumsy policy" of Wilhelmstrasse and professed to believe in German atrocities, he has in essentials hardly changed his political orientation.

"'Caillaux welcomed indirect courtesies from me, but emphasized the extreme caution which he is obliged to show, as the French government, he said, had him watched even here.

"'He warns against the excessive praise bestowed upon him by our papers, especially the "*Neue Freie Press*," and desired on the other hand that the Mediterranean and Morocco agreements should be adversely criticised. Our praise injures his position in France.

" 'Caillaux's reception here was cool. His report about Brazil had nothing new. On his return to France he will begin to reside in his own constituency. He fears Paris and the fate of Jaurès.

" 'BERNSTORFF.' "

CHAPTER V

The Enemy Within Grows Bolder

Defeated in Drive to Capture Paris, Germany Spreads Pestilence Behind the Lines—Almereyda and Malvy Protect Alien Enemies—Almereyda's Sudden Riches—His Lurid Life

The Germans were guilty of using poison gas for the first time in warfare, when on April 22, 1915, they poured a flood of deadly fumes upon the Canadians at Ypres, and then charged upon the heaps of writhing, dying men.

Before this battle of Ypres, however, Germany began another campaign of poison, in which she tried by means of the most insidious propaganda to kill the very soul of France. As soon as her first, great drive against Paris failed, she revived her old time scheme of destroying France through treachery, of demoralizing the French with fears and doubts, of seeking to persuade them it was folly to war against the Teuton, of stirring up hatred against England, of urging a separate peace and a Franco-German alliance, as the only solution of the European problem.

In pursuance of this plan Caillaux was negotiating with Luxburg in Buenos Ayres, and Malvy and Almereyda were coöperating with pacifists, defeatists and anarchists in Paris. By January, 1915, the great offensive of the enemies within the republic was well under way.

Spies and German agents of all kinds smuggled themselves into France by way of Switzerland and Spain. Pamphlets urging soldiers to quit fighting and demand peace found

their way into the trenches. Circulars and posters outlining a Bolshevik revolution were distributed among the workers of munition plants. Labor unions were incited to declare strikes, that would cripple transportation or the manufacture of war supplies.

Almereyda became even more active and powerful in the Ministry of the Interior. He found it no longer necessary to consult Malvy every time he wanted a carload of prisoners liberated, or tickets of sojourn issued to Germans, Austrians and Turks who wished to stay in Paris unmolested.

The intricate machinery of obtaining cards of identification at the office of the Prefecture of the Police, the process of furnishing one's name, the names of parents, the place and date of birth, and answering a score of other questions, as to one's past history, was practically brushed aside, when it interfered with Almereyda's friends.

Now and then the military police would force the arrest of suspects; but while the prisoners were being put aboard trains to be carried from Paris to the internment camps, Almereyda would have Malvy, as head of the civil police, set the men free. Once, when Malvy's subordinates were a little slow in carrying out his orders, Almereyda hurried to the Ministry of the Interior, and without the formality of sending in his name, walked into the inner office.

"These arrests must stop," cried the Chief of the Apaches, tossing a paper containing a long list of names upon Malvy's desk. "These are all our men. We can never hold our own people together, and permit them to be treated in this fashion."

Malvy looked up at the strangely luminous eyes of the visitor—eyes in which a mind made almost mad by drugs burned with an uncanny lustre—and then picked up the paper. The Apache chieftain seemed to read the Minister's mind.

"Of course there will be a great hue and cry from the

Conservatives, from men like Daudet, who will use the black ink of his *L' Action Française* to paint you a traitor," said Almereyda. "But all that those fellows say will be discounted. They will not be believed, simply because they are your political enemies. The socialists never listen to them, even when they are telling the truth."

Almereyda passed a cigarette case to the Minister, who merely glanced at the fortune of diamonds with which the monogram was set.

The leader of the Corsican Guard did not need to repeat his request. Orders were given that his letter to the Prefect of Police be immediately obeyed. The letter read:

"Enclosed is a list of some poor devils who have been arrested, and whom in accord with M. Malvy and M. Richard (director of the secret service bureau) I ask you to release.

"If I thought that there might be any danger or even embarrassment for the country, I would not make this request.

"Thanks, kindest regards.

"(Signed) Miguel Almereyda."

The prisoners were at once set free.

Another letter which was produced later in court and which showed Almereyda's ability to liberate prisoners without even a visit to the Minister's private office, was written to M. Leseyeux, an assistant of M. Paoli, Secretary General of the Prefecture of Police. It read:

"Kindly give M. Paoli my thanks and express to him my gratitude for having liberated some poor devils, whom I recommended to you.

"I am aware that you often make errors, but they are excusable. You would make me particularly happy, if you would communicate this letter also to M. Paoli and ask him for authorization to order the liberation of the entire carload this evening, if possible."

Then followed a list of ten men.

From many of those whom he befriended with tickets of sojourn, stays of execution, orders of liberation, and other favors he was able to get from the Prefecture of Police and the *Sûreté Générale*, Almereyda obtained various "tokens of good will." In the case of M. Rabbat, for example, Almereyda received what Rabbat called a "loan" of 5,000 francs. For Rabbat Almereyda obtained the suspension of a decree of exile.

And what manner of man was Rabbat, for whom Almereyda interceeded so successfully? The answer is to be found in the report of M. Pérès, head of a commission which finally dug to the bottom of the intrigue, corruption and treason of Malvy's administration. I quote now from the Pérès report:

"Rabbat was an Ottoman subject. He lived in Paris for some years, and with the aid of funds of more than suspicious origin, founded a bank in which he co-operated with a certain Zucco, already condemned six times. It was a swindling enterprise.

"Although he had been condemned on June 20, 1913, Rabbat still continued to live in Paris after his term in prison, and was still in Paris, when war was declared. As soon as Turkey entered the conflict, he asked a permit of sojourn, which was granted without any difficulty on Nov. 26, 1914, despite his past record.

"Rabbat was left at large. He became suspiciously active. Finally he ran up against the *Sûreté Générale*, (Malvy's Secret Service Bureau). It seems that his mistress, who had been arrested at Nancy for espionage, had turned informer against him. The *Sûreté Générale* and the Prefecture of Police accordingly investigated Rabbat, and reported that he was a criminal, who was suspected of having relations with the enemy. One report, dated March 31, 1915, read:

" 'It is astonishing that in the face of facts so deplorable and a past record so regrettable, Rabbat was able to secure

a permit of sojourn?' At the bottom of the report, the director of the *Sûreté Générale* made this notation.

" 'I consider this man dangerous for many reasons. I believe he should be interned.' "

At this stage Almereyda's power was invoked. Records showed that the order of expulsion, which had been issued for Rabbat on April 6, 1915, was stayed only a week later. Accompanying the stay came a letter of approval from Minister Malvy to the Prefect of Police.

"Meantime Rabbat continued his swindling operations," continues the Pérès report. "The military police (which were always clashing with Malvy) pointed him out as a suspect, but he still was permitted to go free.

"The part which Almereyda played behind the scenes was revealed by Rabbat himself, who said that he was not only indebted to Almereyda for the suspension of the order of expulsion, but also a safe conduct pass to enable him to go to Annemasso, whence he had easily crossed the line into Switzerland for the purpose of selling a package of Austrian bonds. Rabbat further added that he had loaned Almereyda 5,000 francs for his services.

"In Geneva Rabbat started an agency for concealing stolen goods and a sort of clearing house for bonds and securities, which the Germans had purloined from the invaded countries. It was with great difficulty that France obtained his extradition. He was brought back to Paris at last to answer for his crimes.

"This episode should be considered as a monument to the influence and power of Almereyda."

In permitting spies and other German agents to operate unmolested Malvy was continually conflicting with the military police, know as the Second Bureau. The inspectors of the Second Bureau were under the jurisdiction of the army, and their unceasing efforts to kill German espionage frequent

lyuncovered a scandal, which pointed straight to Caillaux and Malvy.

Almereyda in the *Bonnet Rouge* and Malvy, himself, in frequent statements to the press, began attacking the Second Bureau, as "meddlesome, bungling, incompetent." Almereyda and Malvy insisted that it prevented the civil police from doing their duty. The fight became hotter and hotter. Finally, the Caillaux crowd succeeded, and the Second Bureau was suppressed.

Among the many cases in which Malvy's civil police ran afoul of the Second Bureau was the Kovaczs affair.

Mme. Kovaczs was an Austrian woman. She was sent to the concentration camp at Garaison, but returned to Paris and took an apartment at No. 60 Avenue du Bois-de-Boulogne. On many occasions the neighbors noticed mysterious goings and comings of strangers, meetings at unusual hours of the night, and the conversations that were caught from her windows were always in German.

Inspectors of the military police investigated. They learned from Malvy's prefect of Police, that Malvy, himself, had authorized the woman to return to Paris and obtained for her a monthly ticket of sojourn that she might remain in the French capital unmolested.

The military police, nevertheless, continued their investigation. They discovered that the woman was keeping in constant touch with various Germans, whose activities were also extremely suspicious, and they accordingly demanded that the woman be sent back to the concentration camp. Instead, the Prefecture of Police at the request of Malvy gave her an unlimited permit of sojourn.

Even more persistently the Second Bureau shadowed the woman. It finally turned up facts, which convinced the Commission for the Revision of Permits to order the woman expelled. When the inspector went to Mme. Kovaczs's home to conduct her to the border, who should open the

door of her apartment in answer to his knocking, but a French general.

Many of the Germans, Austrians and Hungarians, who wanted permits of sojourn in Paris at the outbreak of the war possessed great wealth or represented enemy interests of vast financial power. It was not infrequently said in the Paris cafés, that 100,000 francs would be cheap for a ticket of sojourn for not a few alien enemies, whose business interests necessitated their staying in the French metropolis. Some of the political agents and spies in the employ of the German government would have paid any price for such permits.

One of the German financiers, who fell under the suspicion of the Second Bureau, was M. Vercken. Born in Belgium, M. Vercken had become a naturalized French citizen. As M. Pérès said in his report:

"Under the complaisant mask of a French Council of Administration, M. Vercken had been throwing our mining concessions into the hands of German captains of industry before the war, and he was continuing in these activities.

"The Second Bureau investigated his enterprises, which in time of war could be used to compromise our national production. After the suppression of the Second Bureau, the Central Bureau of Information, which succeeded it, did nothing."

The Central Bureau of Information was made subservient to the Prefecture of Police, which was subservient to Malvy. Continuing M. Pérès said:

"Another example is the Victoria Bank. It has been maintaining in Paris, despite its assurances, a 'special bureau' of spies, having as the territory of its activities, the Eastern part of France. Von Mainen and Gymros, of the Victoria Bank, have been circulating throughout Paris unhindered since the invasion, one wearing a British, and the

other, a Belgian uniform. In a Belgian uniform also promenades M. Artmann, director of the bank, a so-called Roumanian, who was denounced by Georges Prade in his campaign in '*Le Journal*' against the 'Foreigners of the Interior.' "

Artmann was watched by the Second Bureau, but defended by Almereyda, who attested to his honesty with great vigor. Almereyda also met the attacks of *Le Journal* by defamations addressed to Commandant Baudier, head of the Second Bureau. Finally, Almereyda triumphed over both M. Prade and Commandant Baudier, thanks to the will of the Minister of the Interior, who gave M. Artmann a ticket of sojourn. Thus ended the campaign of *Le Journal* against the Boches of Paris. Thus also ended the Second Bureau.

Commandant Baudier, however, did not abandon the Second Bureau without a fight. He insisted on a personal interview with the all powerful Malvy. Through the intervention of George Prade, M. Humbert, editor of *Le Journal* arranged for Baudier to see the Minister of the Interior. Baudier had hardly seated himself, before Malvy exclaimed:

"I demand that you should be discharged from the Military Government of Paris, because the action of the Second Bureau has not been in accord with the attitude of the Ministry of the Interior, the Prefecture of Police, and the *Sûreté Générale.*

"I have also asked and obtained the discharge of General Maunoury, General Clergerie and Colonel Monteil, because in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate they were opposing the action of the Ministry of the Interior and praising the Military Government."

Almereyda's wealth was now piling up fast. Beside "gifts" and "loans" from "friends" he received through Malvy a regular subsidy for the *Bonnet Rouge.* The money was drawn from the funds of the Minister of the Interior in sums of

2,000 to 8,000 francs and turned over each month to Almereyda's newspaper.

From many other sources Almereyda also gathered princely tribute. He once boasted that by the end of the war he would be the richest man in Paris. But his friends shook their heads. They did not doubt that he was reaping a golden harvest, but they knew he was spending his riches even faster than they came.

Almereyda paraded his wealth. He was of that superficial type of man, who, realizing the shallowness of his nature, seeks to cover it up with the pompous trappings of prosperity. He bought his clothes in the most expensive and most exclusive establishments. He traded his old automobile for one of the latest and most luxurious pattern, and in one corner of the deeply upholstered tonneau he joined the afternoon promenades of fashion along the beautifully wooded driveways of the Bois de Boulogne.

Beside him he sometimes took Madame Q, a lady whom he had met at an all night revel at the home of the "Cocaine Queen" of Paris, and who had formerly been one of the most trusted agents of Germany at the French capital, until she became a hopeless victim of drugs.

Almereyda's private life was the gossip of the boulevards. In one of the sworn statements of Léon Daudet, which was later embodied in a government report, Almereyda was pictured in two homes, in one of which lived Mme. Clero Almereyda, and in the other, Mlle. Emilienne Brévannes.

Despite all the rumors of the cafés, the two ladies seemed to be on the best of terms, for Daudet tells how they took a trip together to Verdun during the last days of 1915, when the Crown Prince of Germany was massing all his forces in a gigantic effort to capture the French citadel. Armed with the necessary permits, which the Caillaux editor had obtained through the influence of friends of high official rank, Mme. Almereyda and Mlle. Brévannes penetrated the French lines

and entered the fortress. They carried with them a great quantity of pacifist and defeatist literature, which they distributed among the troops.

Almereyda was soon living at such a pace that one automobile was not enough. One by one he bought more cars, until he maintained a fleet of six. Finally, he purchased a garage in the Boulevard Pereire, where he kept his own machines and rented space for others. During one governmental investigation from which he emerged successfully, he explained that the automobiles he drove belonged only to the garage, and that his money came from a wine merchant, named Boulet, in payment for his campaign in behalf of the wine business, and from M. Francfort who had given him 50,000 francs for securing an important order from the Ministry of Munitions.

One of Almereyda's chauffeurs was a Hollander, by the name of Edouard Klisser. From Klisser Daudet obtained information that the Almereyda automobiles were continually going through the French lines with packages of *Bonnet Rouge* editions for distribution among the soldiers. During 1915, 1916 and 1917 Almereyda's motor cars sowed the seeds of defeatism along the battle line, and no one in or out of the army appeared powerful enough to stop them.

Klisser also told of one occasion, when Malvy and Almereyda were riding together in an open automobile, which permitted him to hear their conversation. The two were discussing an impending reorganization of the cabinet, when it was generally believed that Malvy would be compelled to quit the Ministry of the Interior for the Ministry of Colonies. According to Klisser, Malvy said to Almereyda:

"It is absolutely necessary that you go and talk with Briand. You, yourself, know how important it is that I remain in the Ministry of the Interior."

Briand began his political career as a socialist of the extremely radical type. After he became Premier he was

accused by many of the socialists of having abandoned them for capitalistic interests. At this time Almereyda was able to obtain the audience of such statesmen as Briand, because of the power and influence of his newspaper, and his popularity among various formidable labor and socialist organizations.

Klisser said he was ordered to drive to the home of Briand, where Almereyda got out and went into the house. After about twenty minutes Almereyda returned to the automobile, and taking his seat beside Malvy said:

"Well, my friend, I did it. You stay in the Ministry of the Interior."

Malvy stayed.

CHAPTER VI

"The Red Bee" and "La Ruche"

Sébastien Faure and "The Bee Hive"—His Anarchist Pamphlets Flood Trenches—Malvy, His Patron—Pacifist Literature Demoralizes Army—Clemenceau's Battle Against the Enemy Within

There used to be a deeply recessed, shadow haunted, hollow sounding doorway in a side street of Paris, which led into a place, known as "La Ruche" ("The Bee Hive"). Past this door many a girl dared not walk at night. Within lurked a man, whom the women called "The Red Bee." Fearful stories were told of his noctural adventures, and so it came to pass that mothers warned their daughters to flee at his approach.

Most times during the day the rumbling noise of a printing press was heard within "La Ruche." Strange looking men, whose faces were frequently hid under down-turned hat brims, passed hurriedly in and out. Now and then a motor delivery wagon stopped in front of the gloomy door, and from the depths of "The Bee Hive" were brought forth great packages of red pamphlets, which were quickly loaded into the automobile and whisked away.

"The Red Bee" was known to the Prefecture of Police as Sébastien Faure, one of the most dangerous anarchists in France. His name, like that of Almereyda and the rest of the Corsican Guard, was inscribed in the Carnet B. Faure was a pamphleteer. His printing office swarmed with anarchists and social agitators of all kinds who had again and again

been cast into prison because of their plots to overthrow France. Most of them advocated the same views as the Bolsheviks of Russia. Faure was their leader.

When complaints were made to the police that he had attacked little girls, Faure only laughed.

"They do not dare touch me," he boasted. "Malvy is my friend. He not only protects me, but he gives me money to publish my pamphlets."

And Faure told the truth. The police did not touch him. From Malvy he not only received the hand of welcome, when he went to the Ministry of the Interior, but a regular government subsidy of 1,500 francs a month. In other words, Malvy had the government pay Faure to work for the destruction of the government.

This amazing situation was not fully revealed until years afterward, when the Sébastien Faure skeleton in the Malvy closet was dragged forth and cast into the flames.

Malvy's friendship for Faure showed itself in many ways. For example, when the Prefect of Seine-et-Oise learned that the treasonable pamphlets of "The Bee Hive" were being distributed among soldiers, he ordered them seized and made a prompt report to the Council. In the Council there was a man of deliberative mind, by the name of M. Sembat, who persuaded his fellows, that it was better to reason with Faure than to throw him into jail. Accordingly, an appeal was made to Malvy, as Minister of the Interior and the titular head of all the police prefects, to persuade Faure of the evil of his ways.

Instead of reprimanding Faure, Malvy not only exonerated him but promised to put him on the government payroll. He even handed Faure all the police reports concerning his various iniquities, and permitted the anarchist to burn them.

This act in itself was enough to have sent Malvy to prison, had there been anyone strong enough in France at

that time to have enforced the law. According to Article 173 of the French Penal Code:

"Any judge, administrator, public functionary or officer, who shall have destroyed or done away with any papers or documents of which he had been a custodian or which may have been remitted or communicated to him by reason of his functions, shall be punished by a term of hard labor."

The interview between Malvy and Faure took place January 26, 1915. Eight or ten days later, M. Moreau, a subordinate of Malvy discovered two new "Bee Hive" pamphlets which he thought so dangerous that he immediately reported they should be seized. M. Moreau's recommendation was passed along by M. Richard, Director of the Secret Service Bureau, to Malvy, with the result that it received this notation:

"Communiqué to the Director. It is ordered not to seize."

In "*La Trêve des Peuples*," ("The Truce of the Peoples") issued June 14, 1915, Sébastien Faure urged the army to strike. He said that on August 1, 1915, all the soldiers should lay down their arms and go back to their cantonments. Six thousand copies of this circular were printed, and Malvy made not the slightest effort to stop them.

Faure's gratitude toward Malvy is shown by his letter to his friend Mauricius, an anarchist lecturer, with whom he planned to found a defeatist paper, called "*Ce qu' il faut dire*," ("What one must say") which later exerted a far reaching influence throughout the army. Under date of February 24, 1915, Faure wrote:

"My dear Mauricius:

"My expectations have been realized. Without hesitation, without any formality, without any condition, the subsidy, which I asked, has been granted to me. I hope that it shall be maintained until the termination of the war. Thus 'La Ruche' is saved once more. We are now tranquil and of a free mind."

Speaking of the proposed "*Ce qu' il faut dire,*" and its defeatist campaign, he added:

"In the first place we must make a brusk attack. We must hit the minds of the people quick, quick, if we wish to conquer our adversary, before it has time to stop us."

Thanks to the subsidy "*Ce qu' il faut dire*" was finally launched with the motto: "The sacred union of the pacifists versus the chauvinists."

Not content with merely printing pamphlets Faure took the stump against the war. In the offices of the "Syndicat des Terrassiers," on May 20, 1915, he lectured to 1,200 people, and his text was "Down with the War." Yet Malvy continued the subsidy.

Meanwhile, there were many ugly stories told in the back rooms of "The Bee Hive" concerning the complaints of mothers against Faure, to which the police paid no heed. Finally, on September 28, 1916, a demand that Faure be imprisoned for an attack on two girls was thought by the lower police officials to be too serious to be dropped. It was passed along to the Prefect of Paris, who made this annotation:

"I presented to Sébastien Faure the observations made in the report, which because of the state of the testimony cannot give ground for prosecution."

During the first year of the war Germany's publicity agents in France did not dare use the newspapers openly. Even the *Bonnet Rouge* masked its guns. It contented itself with insidious intimations that England was not aiding France all she should, and that British selfishness was acquiring the rest of the world and letting France bleed.

Accordingly, the enemy used pamphlets, which were anonymous, whenever necessary to hide their authorship. Most of them were issued from anarchist and pacifist printing presses in Paris and distributed by secret agents throughout the army, the factories engaged in the manufacture of war supplies, the cafés of Paris, the country hotels, and even

among the old men and women, who were left to labor in the fields.

One of the first manifestos to attract the attention of the army authorities, appeared on December 27, 1914, when Caillaux was still in South America negotiating with the enemy for a separate peace. It was first seen in the departments of the southwest. It was entitled *L'Humanité* ("Humanity"), and was printed in huge letters, which read:

"Extend your hand to Germany, who has never nourished any hatred against the French.

"Make your governing heads cease fostering and developing the militaristic and imperialistic spirit."

In January, 1915, about the time that the British sank the German battle cruiser, "Blücher," in a great naval engagement in the North Sea, another pamphlet from the same source began to be seen. It was printed like a poster, and would suddenly burst upon the view of the passerby, pasted to a wall, or suspended in a frame from a lamp post. This is the way it read:

"Open your eyes and revolt, O, you Frenchmen! Do not believe any longer what your rulers tell you, when they speak of right with a large 'R' and of liberty with a big 'L'? The French offensive has been forever broken. France has but one chance of saving herself, and that is to lay down her arms in the name of the higher interests of humanity."

The Minister of War was constantly finding his hands tied by Malvy. He learned for instance that on July 1, 1915, a special bulletin of the "*Union of the Metals*" was to appear, that would champion the Swiss pacifists. Sure enough, when the bulletin left the presses it contained an article prohibited in Switzerland. It appealed for a world movement in favor of peace. "The massacre of the peoples must cease," it said.

The Minister of War communicated with his colleague of the Interior, who replied:

"We must not touch the *Union of the Metals*, nor the place

where the paper is printed. We must simply endeavor to do what we can on the outside to stop its circulation."

The Prefect of Seine-et-Oise, who made the first complaint to Malvy about Faure, complained to Malvy's Secret Service Bureau in May, 1916, that at Villeneuve-St. Georges an anarchist printing plant was running at full blast. The prefect got no reply. Some of the pamphlets from this establishment fell into the hands of Premier Briand, and on Dec. 29, 1916, Briand asked Malvy why he did not stop it. An investigation followed. The prefect explained that he had asked for instructions and got none. After this explanation he got his instructions from Malvy immediately. They were, "Do nothing without referring the matter to us."

The correspondence of soldiers opened by the censor discovered that this propaganda of discontent, dispair, and defeat had a most insidious influence upon the troops. Here is only one letter, made public years afterward in a trial for treason. It was written by a soldier to his sweetheart, and read as follows:

"My dearest little Jeanne:

"I received today at the same time your two letters of December 30 and January 2. In the one of December 30, I found the manifesto in favor of peace and the little white sheet, which I read aloud to several dozen fellow soldiers in my squadron. Afterward, I communicated it to nearly all the regiment.

"I put in it all my ardor, all my profound faith, all the intonation to be desired. Everybody approved it. I was sure of their sympathy, but when I asked them to sign their names, all, or nearly all said:

" 'Yes, it is quite true, but it is impossible.'

"Understand that I did not expect them to act any other way, but I took advantage of it to let them know what I thought of them. I abused them to my heart's content.

"A few of them, however, wished to frame a vigorous reso-

lution and told us that we should wire our approval and confidence to Sébastien Faure. I was compelled to check their ardor, because, if it is all right to show one's approval, it is useless to expose oneself to arrest and imprisonment."

M. Mérillon, the public prosecutor at the trial, at which the letter was put in evidence, said that this kind of poison was being poured into the very heart of France.

"The existence of such propaganda is affirmed," he continued. "I have also the reports of nearly all the commanding generals, as for instance, Generals de Castelnau, Duchesne, Humbert, Franchet d' Esperey, St. Juste, Bonclair and Guillaumat, whom we are so happy to see in the defense of Paris. And this is what these chiefs have been able to prove.

"In Paris there is a pestilential center, a revolutionary clearing house, whose branches reach far out into our armies. Its agents belong to an occult organization, and take their orders from Paris. There are also pamphlets of a purely German organization, with headquarters also in Paris. These are all part of a campaign instigated by the Germans for the purpose of delivering France to the enemy.

"A letter from Gen. Nivelle to the Minister of War speaks of this iniquitous propaganda, as follows:

" 'I have brought to the attention of the Minister of the Interior the attempts of the pacifists. Knowing that, unless I acted, the moral of the troops would be seriously affected, I deemed it necessary that strong measures should be taken.

" 'I would be very much obliged to you, if you would intercede with M. Malvy in order to decide on the steps to be taken to stop these practices immediately.

" 'The activity and scope of the pacifist propaganda in the army are constantly increasing. For a year, pacifist pamphlets and papers have been reaching the troops. At the present time there is a veritable epidemic. These pamphlets emanate from the "Libertaire," "The Committee for the Re-

suming of International Relations," "The Syndicalist Committee of Defense," "The Federation of Metals," "The Teachers Syndicate" and from such anarchists, as Sébastien Faure.'

"All these sources have been well known to M. Malvy, because they were all revealed to him.

"They deny the just cause for which our soldiers are fighting. They defend Germany. They claim that it is impossible to defeat Germany, and pretend that peace alone will solve all the problems of the present hour.

"Such propaganda weakens the offensive spirit of our troops. It enervates and discourages them.

"The opinion of the General in Chief is that the most drastic measures be adopted. He urges that the pamphlets should be seized in the printing plants, where they are published; that the police should prohibit meetings or discussions of a pacifist and treasonable character; that the revolutionary journal, '*Niochavo*,' be suppressed, that the activities of Sébastien Faure and like agitators should be stopped, and that a normal schedule of work be required in the arsenals and war plants.

"After General Nivelle comes General Petain, who makes a similar appeal and demonstrates the necessity of taking immediate action. He concludes his recommendations by saying:

" 'As for my part in this matter, I shall order the arrests of the agitators in the cantonments and suppress disorder and drunkenness as much as possible.'

" 'General Franchet d' Esperey informs me that as a consequence of secret meetings, infantry regiments have decided to march on Paris. Precautions have been taken. There was time enough to prevent it.' "

Senator Henri Bérenger, who conducted a special investigation of the propaganda of pacifism and defeatism in the army made a report to the Senate in which he reached this conclusion:

"Germany did not only try to crush the world by force of arms. She tried also to dominate it through espionage, corruption and treason. The proofs of her attempts in France and among our allies have been absolutely established.

"The German propaganda in our territory dates away prior to the war. Interrupted for a moment, it resumed its work, at first in the shade, later with ever increasing boldness in our factories, our ports, our regiments. It was resumed during the late months of 1914. Soon after their defeat upon the Marne and the Yser, the Germans realized in their trenches that the war would be a long one and that the Franco-British alliance, unless disrupted, would dictate the terms of peace."

Despite the protestations of army officials, the denunciations of editors, like Daudet, of deputies, like Barrès, and the constantly increasing fire of censure from the guns of Clemenceau's "*L' Homme Libre*" ("The Free Man"), Malvy treated all criticism with contempt. So great was his power and the power of his friends to thwart Clemenceau's campaign against official corruption, favoritism and criminal negligence, that for a time the "Tiger's" paper was suppressed. But the "Tiger" himself could not be caged. He renamed his paper, "*L' Homme Enchainé*," ("The Man in Chains") and continued the fight.

CHAPTER VII

Mme. Therese, Enemy Agent, Visits Caillaux

Asks Him to Meet Lipscher and Discuss Peace Terms—Caillaux Afraid—Mme. Thérèse Also Meets a Soldier and Tells the Whole Story—Malvy's Police Run Afoul of the Scandal and Hush It Up

Almereyda was sitting in his office of the *Bonnet Rouge* one December afternoon in 1915, when the telephone rang, and a woman's voice said:

"Caron would not take the black cross yet. Will call you again tomorrow."

The Apache editor made no reply. He hung up the receiver and looked toward the desk, where Jean used to work before he went to war.

"That was Thérèse," he said to himself. Caillaux would not take the responsibility of promulgating Germany's separate peace terms now. I ought to assign a reporter to watch her. She is always meeting somebody, and becoming too companionable. If Berlin knew all the things she did in Paris, she would never be trusted with any more important missions. But I've no man to shadow her. Jean would have been just the one for such work. I had perfect faith in him. Whom can I get?"

Almereyda turned again to his desk, but Mme. Thérèse haunted his thoughts so persistently, that he found he could not write his editorial against British aggression in Africa. He became so upset, that finally he wheeled around in his chair, turned his back toward the door, pulled out of his

pocket a dainty gold box, which looked as if it belonged to some lady's châtelaine, and from it poured upon a thumbnail a portion of cocaine. He did not notice that it was twice his usual dose, until he had snuffed it into his nostrils, and tilted himself back against the wall.

He soon fell into a stupor.

Had Almereyda not lost his senses at that particular time, France might never have known how Germany sent a woman to Caillaux in his Paris home, and asked him to go to Switzerland to negotiate the terms of a separate peace.

Just as Almereyda feared, Thérèse found a friend with whom she talked too much. The police got hold of the story. They learned that the woman had gone to Caillaux's house, and delivered Germany's message to him, that she had written and received letters from her partner, Lipscher, an agent of the Central Powers, stationed in Switzerland, and that in these letters Caillaux was always referred to as "Caron." In these letters, the police also learned, there was a peculiar jargon, which was thought to reveal the existence of a secret order, devoted to the overthrow of France and the establishment of a Bolshevik state, and that its emblem was a black cross.

Because these revelations implicated Caillaux, Malvy had them smothered. The Duverger woman was allowed to escape. All the papers in the case were pigeonholed. Not until the Clemenceau premiership was bold enough to put Malvy on trial and dig out of Malvy's own files the proof of his criminal negligence, were the secret machinations of Caillaux, Lipscher, and Mme. Thérèse made public.

The story is best told by translating the official report of this affair made by M. Pérès to the French Senate. M. Pérès used only the sworn testimony of witnesses and the official records of military and civil authorities. The tragic circumstances surrounding the submission of this report to the Senate, the vast number of other plots interwoven into

the Great Conspiracy, which it also uncovered, will be told in Chapter XX.

The part of the report containing "The Lipscher Affair" reads as follows:

"During the first days of October, 1915, the *Sûreté Générale* (Secret Service Bureau of the Minstry of the Interior) by the various branches of information in Holland, was advised of the departure for France of a woman, called Thérèse Duverger, mistress of M. Lipscher, a Hungarian.

"M. Lipscher was already well known in Paris, as an agent of international character. His name dates back to the trial of Mme. Caillaux, in which he was called to testify. It is he, who had negotiated with M. Calmette, in the name of Count Tisza, a contract for the publication in '*Le Figaro*' of a series of articles favorable to the Hungarian government. M. Caillaux had purchased from Lipscher a photograph of this agreement to use it as a weapon against the victim of his wife.

"At the beginning of the war Lipscher was at Brussels with the Duverger woman. After the occupation of Brussels by the Germans, he obtained from the German Commander a safe conduct to go to the Hague. His numerous letters, his frequent visits to various cities, his journeys abroad, and certain remarks which he was heard to make to his entourage in The Hague during several months stay there, caused the agents of the French secret service to point him out as a suspicious individual.

"On October 11, 1915, the Duverger woman disembarked at Dieppe. She said she was going to her family at Arcueil-Cachant. She was watched, and it was reported that she arrived at Arcueil-Cachant. The Prefecture of Police was asked to shadow her movements.

"On November 16, 1915, the *Sûreté Générale,* (Malvy's Secret Service Bureau) again called the attention of the Prefect of Police to watch the woman. This action resulted

from a telegram received from the Minister of France at The Hague by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Paris, instructing that special measures be taken to intercept her correspondence.

"M. Gauthier, Commissaire of Police in charge of watching the retrenched camp of Paris, under the direction of the military authorities, sent an official order to the Post Office of Arcueil-Cachant, stating that all the mail which the woman received or posted should be copied for a special report.

(M. Gauthier was connected with the military police, over which Malvy had no jurisdiction. He was a member of what was known as the Second Bureau.)

"A letter soon arrived from Lipscher, dated December 13. It came from Zurich, Switzerland.

"First of all Lipscher apologized for not having written more often and at greater length, and added in a peculiar jargon, unintelligible to the uninitiated;

" 'And then I looked for your letter today from Friday of that famous visit before putting my affair on the road of realization, but that letter has not arrived yet. Today I am wondering what sort of a yarn has offered again . . . . . .'

"Simultaneously M. Gauthier seized two letteers in which an automobilist soldier, named Beauquier, who at that time was on leave in Paris, was asking the Duverger woman to come and have a talk with him. A watch was set, and sure enough, on December 18, 1915, at 3 p. m. in the parlor of the Hotel Terminus, which was designated as the rendezvous, Beauquier was found in a *tête à tête with* Mme. Thérèse.

"After the interview Beauquier discovered that he was being shadowed. Of his own accord Beauquier went to the inspector and said:

" 'I do not want to be compromised by this woman. I made an appointment with her to obtain some news about my wife, whom I left in Brussels. This Mme. Thérèse is a mistress of Lipscher, an agent of the German government,

who desires to make overtures of peace to M. Caillaux. Lipscher and Mme. Thérèse have been writing letters to each other about Caillaux and in this correspondence they always refer to him, as 'Caron.'

"Bauquier informed the inspectors that he was willing to tell all he knew, if he were to be examined as a witness in any official proceeding.

"On the morning of December 21, 1915, Commissaire Gauthier gave a verbal account of these facts to his chief, M. Mouton and at the same time he requested authorization to obtain the complete declaration, which Beauquier was ready to make.

"This should have been done at once," said M. Pérès, in commenting upon the situation, "because the soldier's leave was to expire the following day.

"But, M. Mouton did not see fit to comply immediately with the commissaire's request. Quite impressed, as he explained later, by the gravity of the affair, he asked Commissaire Gauthier to write without further investigation a report containing what facts he already had, and to bring it to him at the Café de Paris, where he was to have *déjeuner* with his friends, M. Richard and M. Maunoury.

(M. Richard was the Director of the *Sûreté Générale.* M. Maunoury was Director of the Prefecture of Police of Paris. Both officees were under the Ministry of the Interior. Both men were subservient subordinates of Malvy.)

"M. Gauthier did as he was told. He made out a report and took it to M. Mouton at the Café de Paris.

"According to sworn statements of M. Richard and M. Mouton, which they have since made, they left the table for a moment and with M. Maunoury, gathered in the embrasure of a window. They talked the matter over and deliberated upon the advisability of informing the Minister of the Interior concerning an affair, which involved a former President of the Council, (M. Caillaux).

"M. Mouton returned to his office and told M. Gauthier to give him all the papers in the case. In spite of Gauthier's protests M. Mouton told him to drop the whole matter."

In a deposition to a Commissaire of the Sixth Army, Jan. 30, 1916, Beauquier again revealed the most accurate information concerning Lipscher and his relations with M. Caillaux. Beauquier's sincerity is undisputed. Most of the facts were easily verified.

The statement of Beauquier, which follows, is a translation of sworn testimony:

"At the time of mobilization," he said, "I found myself in Belgium, where I had a rubber factory. I did not leave Belgium until August 20, the day the Germans entered Brussels. I arrived in France August 27 or August 28. I lived in Paris. On February 6, I was declared fit for army service and on that same day I was incorporated in the 171st regiment of infantry.

"At that time, not having received any news of my wife and children in Brussels, I thought I would write to a woman friend of Lipscher, who had remained with him in Brussels, asking her to be good enough to tell me about my family, for I had known her very well. I did not receive any reply to my letter. The reason, as I learned later, was that she was no longer in Belgium. Then in July or August, 1915, I got a letter from Lipscher, mailed from Zurich, Switzerland.

" 'I give you,' he wrote me, 'the address of my friend. She is now in France, at Arcueil-Cachan, with her parents.'

"I wrote Mme. Duverger at the home of her family, and she replied almost immediately. She wrote:

" 'I saw Mme. Beauquier during the last days preceeding my departure. I am at your disposal to give you all the information I can, and I would be very happy to be able to meet you, during your next furlough.'

"I made an appointment for the end of December, in the salon of the Hotel Terminus.

"I met her there, and we talked for a while. At the last minute, I said to her, (for I had known Lipscher for a long time):

" 'And your bird, Lipscher, how is he?' "

"Those were exactly the words I used. She answered:

" 'You ought to know that he is still in Switzerland.' "

" 'No,' I said, 'I only know I received a furious letter from him. . . .'

"My impression was that the woman had been a very weak instrument in the hands of a very violent man, who had used her, not as a spy, no, I do not think that, but as his intermediary in reaching a certain political personage, to whom he was submitting certain propositions. Mme Duverger said to me:

" 'I correspond with him constantly.'

" 'How do you do it?' I asked. 'The correspondence must be suspected.'

" 'Oh, our correspondence,' she replied, 'is written in a certain, peculiar way. I cannot be more precise.

" 'We employ for our correspondence the name "Caron" for M. Caillaux. We do that for fear that the correspondence might be seized. Why, do you know, day before yesterday I was at his house.'

" 'The house of M. Caillaux?' I asked in astonishment.

" 'Yes,' she replied. 'It was my third visit. My first visit there was on the moment of my arrival in France. It was necessary at that time to give M. Caillaux certain Germans plans for a separate peace, which were to be transmitted to him through the channel of Lipscher. The conditions for a separate peace were in substance as follows:

" ' "The part of Alsace-Lorraine, occupied by the French shall remain the property of France. The other part shall be autonomous. We will evacuate France and Belgium with-

out indemnity, and you shall give us a free hand with England."'

"'The German Commander at Brussels had given this plan to Lipscher with a pass for him and myself to go to Switzerland.

"'M. Caillaux refused to regard this proposition as being acceptable. We returned to Belgium.'

"Some months passed," continued Beauquier in telling of the further movements of Lipscher and his companion, "and then they gave Lipscher a pass for his mistress, and she departed to Holland to go from there to England, that she might re-enter France. They demanded of Lipscher that he go back again to Switzerland, to Zurich, in order that he might receive there new peace plans, which he would transmit to her. For that purpose, after all arrangements had been made, he wrote Mme. Duverger to arrange an interview for him with M. Caillaux.

"'When I saw M. Caillaux,' said Mme. Thérèse, 'I indicated to him that it was the desire of M. Lipscher to meet him to discuss peace plans. M. Caillaux answered me thus:

"'I shall not go to Switzerland, because I am watched. If I went there, I would certainly be assassinated.' Then he added, 'Wait, it is too early, now.'

"After some more words, I accompanied Mme. Thérèse to the Lafayette Galleries (a great department store not far from the Hotel Terminus).

"I felt that Mme. Duverger would be watched, and that everybody who had any dealings with her would also be put under surveillance. So, the next morning on leaving my hotel I suddenly retraced my steps. I perceived that I was being followed. I was stunned. Although innocent, I knew that I was compromised in something, which was not proper. I stopped opposite the St. Lazare station.

"At that juncture, I said to myself that it was much simpler to face the music. I approached one of the inspect-

ors and told him that he had been following me since the night before, and added:

" 'Here is my name and address. I have met a person who seems to have compromised me, but it was concerning a wholly proper matter. I wanted to learn some news of my wife and my property in Belgium. I am ready to make a statement before any one of you. In half an hour I expect to meet some friends at the Cardinal.' Finally, they let me go with the understanding that I would give my statement later.

"The next morning an inspector of the police, M. Surzure, came to see me. He demanded that I put in writing what I knew of the relations between Mme. Duverger, M. Caillaux and M. Lipscher. I replied:

" 'I have never corresponded with him, but with his mistress, to whom I have written in Belgium. It is Lipscher who replied to me, because it was he who received the letter, which bears on its back the address of Lipscher in Zurich.'

"I repeated then what Mme. Duverger had told me. M. Surzure answered:

" 'This is very important. I am going to make a report to my chiefs. I will ask, if you please, that you meet me at six o'clock this evening at the Place de Clichy. I will introduce you to M. Gauthier, who is a Commissaire of the retrenched camp of Paris. At six o'clock I was introduced to M. Gauthier, to whom I again repeated in detail the story that I had told to M. Surzure.

"About two months afterward, when I was back in the army, I received a visit from a commissionaire of police connected with the *Sûreté Générale*, who questioned me for the first time under a commission of the secret service bureau. I made a very complete deposition, and gave to him all the letters which I had.

"For the next two years I heard no more of the matter. Then, about six months ago I was brought to Paris to testify

before M. Priolet, and again before Captain Bouchardon."

(Captain Bouchardon was the investigator, who dug up most of the evidence, which sent many of the plotters in the Great Conspiracy to death or imprisonment.)

"I have known Lipscher some fifteen years in Paris. During the first of those years he was interested in business connected with the Paris Stock Exchange. Later, three or four years before the war, I met him in Brussels and learned that his activities had become political. He also had some connection with the Paris newspaper, *Lé Journal,* from which he had obtained a card, as correspondent photographer for Hungary. With this card he went to see M. Calmette at the *Figaro* office, and obtained from him at a late hour one evening, when no editor or other employe was there, a contract, by which the *Figaro* agreed to print certain political articles for the account of the Hungarian government.

"As a matter of fact the Hungarian government did not know anything about the affair, but Lipscher was a cosmopolitan courtier, making money out of everything. With the contract, M. Lipscher departed for Hungary, where he proceeded by taking things in their inverse order. He declared that some French journals could be persuaded to print articles favorable to the Hungarian government, and he asked to be its press agent for France. The trick was easy. He was at once made the government foreign correspondent (that is his official title) at a salary of 17,000 *kroners* a year.

"But Lipscher had two irons in the fire.

"The first one was to make money on his contract of publicity, which amounted to 60,000 francs and of which he had reserved for himself 20 per cent. on all articles printed.

"Lipscher's second object was more subtle. He had met in Belgum a M. Spierj, who had established a gambling house at Buda Pest, but on the fall of Count Tisza had lost the concession. The new minister had expelled Spierj. When

Lipscher met Spierj, plans were afoot for his return to Hungary, and the re-establishment of his gambling house. All of which necessitated the cancellation of the decree of expulsion.

"This was accomplished by Lipscher, thanks to his title of official correspondent of the Hungarian government. In England he introduced Spierj to the *Daily Graphic*, so as to make him also a correspondent for the Hungarian government. The *Daily Graphic* accepted. Spierj's case was placed before the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, and as a result Spierj was reinstated and returned to Buda Pest.

"Some time later Lipscher turned completely and espoused the cause of the Hungarian opposition. Obliged to quit Hungary he went to Brussels.

"I kept track of all of Lipscher's doings, because I thought he was a very interesting creature from a psychological point of view. He often consulted me. He knew I had studied law.

"In the first quarter of 1914, the Hungarian opposition tried to reach M. Caillaux. At about the same time Lipscher facilitated an interview between Count Karolyi and M. Caillaux. Two Hungarian deputies were also present. The interview took place in Paris. Other interviews followed, at one of which Lipscher sold Caillaux the paper, which according to Lipscher proved that Calmette had signed a contract to espouse the cause of the Hungarian government without it being known to the other officers of the Figaro.

"One day before the trial of Mme. Caillaux, when Lipscher was in Brussels, he said to me:

" 'I have just seen Caillaux in Paris. We are convinced that Mme. Caillaux will be acquitted.'

"Lipscher added that he hoped that such an event would make him a French citizen and assure him of a position in the *Crédit Foncier Argentin*, plus an additional gift from

Caillaux of 15,000 francs. I congratulated him, and he answered:

" 'That is what is called politics.' "

Despite the fact that they had discovered a German agent in the heart of Paris, presenting a plan of treason to a former Premier, Malvy's Prefecture of Police and his *Sûreté Générale*, with all their host of directors, secretaries, under secretaries, inspectors and other bureaucratic job holders, did nothing. The Duverger woman was allowed to escape. The soldier, who offered all his services in trying to uncover the plot, was ignored.

The Pérès report also revealed the fact that M. Maunoury, Director of the Prefecture of Police, even went so far as to inform Caillaux personally of the alleged treason in which Beauquier's story had involved him. Regarding the final efforts of the police to hush up the scandal, the Pérès report said:

"A letter was written on March 2, 1916, by the Prefecture of Police to the Director of the *Sûreté Générale*, as follows:

" 'Relative to the information I sent you on January 5 last, in regard to the Duverger (Thérèse) lady, living at 10 bis, rue des Deux Gares, Arcueil-Cachant, and her relations with the military automobilist, Beauquier (30th Company of the Engineer Corps, Postal Sector 182), I have ordered a surveillance upon the correspondence exchanged between these persons.

" 'From the examination of the last letters thus seized, it appears that this measure has no longer any usefulness.

" 'I beg therefore to request you to inform me if, under these conditions, the requisition of seizure which I delivered concerning this correspondence cannot be lifted.

" 'The Prefect of Police

" 'Laurent.'

"No allusion is made to Lipscher, whose name is not even mentioned.

"And this despite the fact that before the seizure was finally lifted a letter from Lipscher was opened, which proved of even greater importance. It was dated February 14, 1916. It contained mention at great length of a 'Joseph' (Caillaux's first name was Joseph) and of the reasons, which probably did not permit him to assume the 'management of the affair, contrary to his desires.' Lipscher quoted the opinion of two high German personalities, designated as 'Jadot' and 'Oscar,' as follows:

" 'Past events and the situation in which he (Caillaux) now finds himself,—a situation, alas, too badly shaken,—must have made him incapable of handling such affairs. Indeed, they see in him no longer the man who could dominate the opinion of the adversary..... He is no longer what he was, and would be unable to succeed.'....

" 'Under these conditions, I shall be in search of another element more capable and better placed. There are dozens of them, especially if the person chosen knew what are the real pretensions of Jadot & Co. I repeat it to you, proofs are in hand of the sincere pretensions of the part of Jadot.'

"At this very moment, when this correspondence assumes such a tremendous importance, when the Prefecture of Police is advised of the far-reaching machinations of enemy agents, of their intention to address other personalities, the one already in view being unsatisfactory, the Prefect of Police requests that further inspection of this correspondence be stopped.

"This request is submitted thirteen days later to the conference, which takes place every morning at the *Sûreté Générale*. The persons attending the conference were M. Richard, director; M. Scbille, controller general; two delegates from the Minister of War, of whom one was Captain Ladoux.

The demand is received without any opposition, and the next day, the Prefecture of Police is authorized to lift the seizure of this German agent's mail.

"M. Malvy has declared he never saw any of the records of the case. He considered the affair, as altogether insignificant and devoid of interest."

CHAPTER VIII

Bolo, Adventurer

His Fantistic Life—A Charmer of Many Hapless Women—Marriage as a Fine Art—His Sudden Wealth—How He Became a Pacha—Why He Was Drawn to Germany—His Secret Meetings with Abbas Hilmi—His Great Pacifist Publicity Scheme—German Bribes—Mme. Caillaux and Bolo

There was another plotter against France, who was to be seen at times in conference with the chief conspirators, and then as suddenly lost from view. Today he would be sipping a glass of champagne in the Café de Paris, or driving a coach and four through the groves of Fontainebleau. Tomorrow he might be found in a little wineshop in Marseilles, with a glass of red Burgundy on the black stained table before him, and a group of chance companions gathered round, while he told some wild story of adventure. Or he could be seen in a gambling house in Cairo, playing at big stakes with turbaned musselmen and losing or winning with the same appearance of good nature.

Such was Bolo.

Always ready for some bold enterprise, in which deception and intrigue were most essential, Bolo welcomed the great war because of the tremendous opportunities it offered his unscrupulous ambition.

It made no difference to him, whether he were a spy for France or Germany, a collector of war munitions graft, a legislative lobbyist and briber, or the proprietor of a sub-

sidized pacifist newspaper. Any one of these rather risky but unusually profitable undertakings would have been just as acceptable to him.

As it happened, there was more money in serving Germany. Accordingly, Bolo went out looking for German gold. He found it, and in great abundance. From a petty sharper and third-rate swindler he rose to be the Prince of Spies, a brilliant figure amid the glitter and flattery of Paris salons, an object of never ceasing wonder and gossip along the boulevards.

To understand Bolo, one must know his life. From official reports of government investigators, it is now possible to reveal the whole story.

In the year 1867 in Marseilles there lived a M. Bolo, who had drifted there from some obscure town on the Rhone, and who tried to please the patrons of his little café with wines of unusually rare vintage. In the quality of his goods he was extremely proud, and accordingly his business grew One day in the same year, he brought a baby into the wine shop, and announced amid the cheers and handclappings of the crowd, that the boy's name was Paul Marie Bolo.

Among the wine kegs the child grew. It was an excellent school. He learned not books but men. He saw human nature undisguised by the hypocrisies of a more elegant society, for in the French café of the middle class, men and women gather during the noon-time or after the work of the day, to discuss the problems of life, no matter how trivial or how tremendous, no matter whether they relate to the planting of a garden or the overthrow of an empire.

Paul learned rapidly, and when his father sent him to college the boy decided that he already had education enough. The studies of the class room he found especially stupid, and after a series of escapades in which he sought escape from the deadly tedium of college life, he suddenly quit school, and struck out for himself.

By nature he was singularly endowed. Blond, tall, slim, with silken moustache and coaxing eyes, of gracious and vivacious manner, he found many friends especially among women folk, and almost always to their misfortune.

For a while he was a hair dresser, and later having learned the beginnings of dentistry, he established himself with a partner by the name of Joseph Boulan, in a prettily furnished office, which had every appearance of long established prosperity. At the end of three months the Tribunal of Commerce of Marseilles was obliged to pronounce the dissolution of the partnership.

From hair dressing and dentistry Bolo turned to the cereal business. He found a partner in a M. Panon, an artist painter, whose wife at once became enamored of his ready wit and flashy clothes, and who for a time successfully hid from her husband her newly aroused affections.

Bolo and Panon, however, did not make money in cereals, so they turned to lobsters. Failing in lobsters, they tried to recoup their losses in a park and restaurant. When this final venture was about to collapse, Bolo eloped with his partner's wife.

The couple fled to Barcelona, Spain. Finding Barcelona too big a city they gravitated to the more tranquil Valencia. At last all their money was spent, and Bolo sought employment in a café, serving drinks and waiting on table, as he used to do as a lad in his father's wine shop. They lived for a time in a garret, until finally his companion gave him her jewels to pawn, and with what little cash was left, they went to Paris.

At No. 12 Rue de Strasbourg, a noisy little street, opposte the "Gare de l'Est" railroad station, where amid the traffic might also be heard the clatter of the ambulances of the great Military Hospital St. Martin, a half block distant, the couple made their abode. They lived in a little back room, bought bits of bread and sausage at a nearby

shop, and with the cheapest kind of red wine, they just managed to keep body and soul together. From the Rue de Strasbourg they moved to No. 16 Rue Chaptal. Then by some good turn, which he never revealed, Bolo obtained enough money to rent a little apartment at No. 31 Rue Bonaparte on the left bank of the Seine not far from the Boulevard Saint Germain. Simultaneously he appeared in a wealth of new clothes, swinging a gold headed cane and carrying a Russian leather pocket-book that contained engraved cards, which proclaimed an office at No. 112 Rue de Richelieu.

From here on the story is best told in the report of Captain Bouchardon, which was made the basis of the government's prosecution and conviction of Bolo and his fellow conspirators.

"The only lucrative transaction which Bolo had in this office," said Captain Bouchardon, "was a condemnation to a term of imprisonment. It came about this way. He had a housekeeper by the name of Mme. Miege. Having learned that she was the possessor of 1350 francs in a saving bank, he persuaded her to trust him with the money. He said he could make it return her wonderful profits, if invested in his business in the Rue Richelieu.

"But Mme. Miege did not realize any income at all from her investment, and not being able to get her money back, she began to waylay and threaten Bolo on every occasion. After paying back 500 francs, and not finding Mme. Miege any the less troublesome, he suddenly disappeared from Paris. The woman, however, still kept up the hunt and many years later sued him in the Eleventh Chamber, which condemned him by default to a month's imprisonment and a fine of 25 francs for breach of trust.

"As for Mme. Panon, he gave her back to her husband, who was of such a charitable nature that he forgave both his wife and her abductor.

"From one adventure Bolo dashed on into another. From one infamy he slipped gracefully into many more. We next hear of him in a railroad derailment near Hendaye. Bolo is picked up and cared for at the Hotel de la Gare, conducted by a Mme. Cabet and her young niece, Michaela Estouba. He soon conquered the affections of the niece, promised marriage, lived in grand style, travelled from Hendaye to Biarritz in a magnificent coach with gayly harnessed horses and costumed postillions. After he had fleeced the poor girl of her dowery, he again disappeared.

"Then Bolo tried marriage. For him matrimony, the same as elopements, was a mere matter of business. Toward the end of 1893 he met a Mlle. Henrietta Soumaille, who was singing in a theatre in Bordeaux. He became known to her as M. Grangeneuve. She sang for him, and he confessed he was completely captivated. He made immediate love to her, and she soon fell into his arms. He told her that he had just lost his mother, and that his share of the inheritance amounted to 700 francs a month.

"Mlle. Soumaille sailed for the Argentine with the hope of securing a theatrical engagement there, and her lover, whom she was already supporting, accompanied her. She obtained an engagement in the Casino at Buenos Ayres, and received 20 piastres for each performance. But it was Bolo, who went to the cashier every evening and got the money. He had no other business. On April 14, 1894, he finally married Mlle. Soumaille in one of the mayoralities of Buenos Ayres, and signed the marriage contract, 'Bolo de Grangeneuve.'

"Finally, he revealed himself in his true character, for he could be by turns suave, courteous, entertaining or insolent, brow beating, brutal. One day he thrashed his wife, because she refused to give him her signature and permit him to collect 5,000 francs. Twice he played burglar and broke into his own apartments. The first time in Buenos Ayres he appropriated not a little of his wife's jewelry and a consider-

able sum of money. The second time in Valparaiso he got away with a diamond buckle.

"Bolo was arrested, and his wife, in order to secure his release, was obliged to deposit all her possessions as a guarantee of his appearance in court. Once out on bail, Bolo wanted nothing better. He deserted his wife, and went direct to Albi, the home of her family. He told her relatives that he had just acquired in America a vast concession of land, where he planned to found a colony. He appointed his two brothers-in-law to choice positions in the new Arcadia, which he had named Port Tarasson, and he charged his mother-in-law with the pleasant task of recruiting emigrants. He gave her a great register, in which to write their names. For two days the crowds came. There was a never-ending line of people. Believing finally that the mystification had lasted long enough, Bolo again disappeared.

"Here there is a gap in his life.

"The next heard of him was in Lyons, in 1902, when he re-appeared as a representative of Binet champagne and Cusenier oxygenated absinthe. He organized a company to represent various commercial houses, a venture which cost his partner, M. de Civins, something like 250,000 francs.

"And now Bolo again turned to marriage, and this time he found it a real road to fortune. It seems that he had met a Mme. Muller, a young and pretty widow of Bordeaux, who had inherited several million francs. Again he made love and with all his old time success. They were married on May 15, 1915.

"With Mme. Muller Bolo, our soldier of fortune returned to Paris a rich man. He leased a luxurious apartment at No. 5 Rue Denis-Poisson (near the great Avenue de la Grande Armée, at one end of which towers the Arc de Triomphe and at the other stretch the beautiful lawns and driveways of the Bois de Boulogne).

"The Bolos immediately displayed their riches, where they

Mme. Bolo-Mueller

Mme. Bolo-Soumaille

BOLO'S WIVES

"He courted many women and prided himself on his conquests.
"My wives have been my best investments," he once said.

could attract the most attention. The wife possessed not only a capital of 2,500,000 francs, but also 1,825 shares of Richard and Muller, worth about 547,000 francs, and an independent yearly income of about 47,000 francs.

"By this marriage Bolo became a bigamist, but for the time being no one but himself knew it. In Paris Bolo instituted an active campaign to make friends whom he might use. That he might entertain on a grander scale he moved to a more magnificent home in the Rue de Phalsbourg and established a sumptuous country place at Biarritz. He surrounded himself with many personages of high social standing, who should have guarded themselves against his false pretenses.

"At the same time he became engaged in all sorts of business ventures. He had full control of his wife's riches, for she had given him a power of attorney. He was to be seen everywhere, Venezuela, Colombia, Cuba, Champagne, Switzerland, Spain. He was busy creating State banks in the South American republics. He started an 'emerald trust.' He promoted the affair of the *Petits Bons de Presse*, and founded the 'Swiss White Cross,' the *Confédération Générale Agricole*,' and what not. But none of the undertakings seemed to succeed.

"His life resembled a circus parade. He was often seen in Paris exhibiting himself on the box of a magnificent mail coach with a riding master and a footman blowing a trumpet. In Colombia he wore breeches of lion skin.

"Bolo now took the step which lead to his downfall. In the company of Mme. Marie Lafargue, an artist of the Opera, who was singing in Cairo, he had met Youssouf Saddik, *mïnistre de la plume*, or secretary of Abbas Hilmi, ex-Khedive of Egypt. The secretary introduced Bolo as soon as possible to his master, and on that same day, July 5, 1914, the ex-Khedive made Bolo his financial agent and sole representative in Europe.

"Events were now moving fast. On July 25, 1914, Abbas Hilmi charged Bolo with the negotiations for the renewal of the Suez Canal concession, and some days later made him a Pacha.

"Abbas Hilmi had been dethroned and expelled by the English, and accordingly, when the war broke out in August of this same year, he was all ready to throw himself into the arms of the enemies of England and become a German spy.

"At this time also, Bolo was anxiously awaiting an opportunity to mend his wasting fortunes. Hilmi and Bolo seized the same straw.

"After the First Battle of the Marne, seeing the complete collapse of her plan of a sudden attack, Germany desired to effect a re-approachment with France, in order to be able to turn her whole attention against England and defeat her the more easily.

"But it was first necessary to prepare pubic opinion for a separate peace. It has been proved by court documents, that in order to accomplish this end, the enemy was prepared to make heavy financial sacrifices. Our foes wanted to influence the Parliament and the Press simultaneously. They had at first estimated that a certain amount of pessimistic news cleverly disseminated by agents who enjoyed good standing in parliamentary circles would be sufficient to create confusion and destroy harmony between the Allies.

"In the Press it was necessary to create desire among the people for peace. But this was difficult, because, if newspapers which were known to be pro-German presented this propaganda, its purpose would be suspected. Accordingly, it was necessary to veil this propaganda in newspapers that were neutral or even apparently pro-French.

"Better even than that, Germany thought, would be the purchase of newspapers of unsuspected patriotism, which, in order to avoid awakening suspicion, should for a while continue campaigns favorable to the Allies. These news-

papers should not swing to the German side until the psychological time arrived.

"From every point of view Bolo was thought to be the man for the job. Without ever having indulged in politics, he had been clever enough to create for himself among parliamentary and administrative circles, some very important connections, which, in case of necessity, he would not be afraid to utilize. In all instances he had displayed irrefutable patriotism. He had been most generous in his donations and his professions of loyalty. Apparently, he was rich, and the source of his wealth could be explained both by an advantageous marriage and the apparent success of his many ventures. Therefore, it would surprise nobody, if he were to invest large sums of money in newspapers, and secure control.

"In a word, everything tended to draw him to Germany and afterward to render the proof of his treason difficult. His apparent wealth, his hidden ruin, his total unscrupulousness, his adventurous life, his love for excessive luxury and his extreme caution born from old-time necessity, all contributed to his success, as a traitor.

"As soon as the Khedive and Bolo understood each other the negotiations began.

"During his sojourn at Vienna Abbas Hilmi had numerous interviews with von Tchirsky, the German ambassador, concerning the plan of a separate peace. Abbas Hilmi was now wholly devoted to the enemies of France. In talking with Viora Nourredin in November, 1915, he said:

" 'I have sacrificed myself completely to the German cause. I have joined the Turks and the Teutons against England.'

"During the stay of the Khedive at Vienna and later in Switzerland, from December, 1914, to October, 1915, Bolo made three trips to Italy and visited Switzerland six different times. On each one of these journeys he met the Khedive or his representatives.

"On the first trip, December 26, 1914, Bolo met Saddik, the Khedive's secretary. They discussed a plan of establishing a great Catholic bank at Fribourg, which they might utilize for the pacifist propaganda in France. Because of its religious cloak the bank would not be as easily suspected, Bolo thought, and in its vaults could be deposited the German money, which would be paid out as French money to the French press. On the surface, it would appear to be purely a religious movement. The cry of peace was to be raised only for the sake of preserving Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church. Bolo also told Saddik, that if his master could raise 50 millions from Germany, he, Bolo, would do the rest."

On an earlier journey into Italy, Bolo had presented his bank scheme to a former Italian deputy by the name of Cavallini, who had become a German agent, and who was later arrested and charged with treason. But Cavallini could not help.

Cavallini, like Bolo, was strictly a soldier of adventure. He had made a fortune out of municipal speculations, but he soon squandered all his money, and began looking for other opportunities to regain his lost wealth. He had been condemned by various courts for various crimes, one of them being corruption and complicity in fraudulent bankruptcy.

Finally, Bolo's plan of a bank of treason was submitted to Abbas Hilmi in Vienna. As the Khedive, a Mohammedan, was to be the head of this pseudo Catholic institution, the trap was evidently thought to be too crude. At all events it was abandoned.

Bolo learned this sad news on a third trip to Geneva on February 14, 1915. Without loss of time, he next volunteered to buy a great number of French newspapers for Germany.

"After further negotiations with Germany, Bolo prepared to carry out his great scheme of treason," continued Captain Bouchardon. "During January and February, 1915, he

entered into negotiations with M. du Mesnil, director of *'Rappel'* by which Bolo became the holder of 1500 shares for 150,000 francs. The paper had suspended publication, but with the help of Bolo's money, it was enabled to re-appear on April 17, 1915.

"Similar propositions were made to M. Chavenon, director of *l'Information;* to M. Sylvain, vice-president of the board of administration of *Le Figaro*, for 500 shares, and to the *Temps* (to obtain a list of the shareholders).

"These developments were communicated to Berlin for approval. Bolo submitted a report to the ex-Khedive, who spoke to Count Monts, former German ambassador at Rome. Count Monts passed the report along to von Jagow, German Minister of Foreign Affairs in Berlin.

"Meantime, Saddik, the ex-Khedive's secretary and messenger, was dispatched to Berlin to confer with von Jagow, and give any further information, which the Foreign Minister might desire. Von Jagow studied Bolo's plan of operation and was delighted. He said that he would at once advance 10,000,000 marks at the rate of 1,000,000 marks each month.

"Evidently referring to Bolo the German Foreign Minister made this cryptic remark to Saddik:

"'As for the intermediary, we have information about him. You do not wish to give his name. I do not ask you.'

"Things were now moving still more rapidly. Saddik brought back the glad tidings to his co-conspirators. He first reported to his master, ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi, who wired Cavallini to tell Bolo and make an appointment with him at Zurich.

"Bolo responded instantly. Through an intermediary by the name of Porchère (who later becomes quite an important factor in the plot) he had this message wired to Cavallini:

"'Richard (meaning Bolo) will arrive Tuesday.'

"Exactly on time Bolo arrived at the rendezvous in Zurich.

Abbas Hilmi and Saddik were there waiting for him. Cavallini was also present. When Bolo heard of von Jagow's plan of installment payments, he flew into a rage.

" 'One million marks a month!' he cried. 'Are we only beggars? We must have at least two million a month.'

"The conferees finally decided to submit a request of 2,000,000 marks a month, for the first two months, with 1,000,000 monthly thereafter. Saddik hurried back to Berlin and von Jagow, who at once accepted it."

From documents seized by French authorities long afterward under circumstances which they would not disclose, it was learned that the Khedive received from Germany on March 26, 1915, 2,207,565 francs, Swiss currency, or about two million German marks, and that part of this money was remitted to Bolo.

And these are the papers which proved Bolo's treason:

"First document, a communication dated October 8, 1917, by which the German Under Secretary of State for the Military Court sent to the Council of War a telegram from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which read:

" 'On March 20, 1915, the Dresner Bank (Berlin branch) has issued to the order of Abbas Hilmi three checks of 735,855 francs, 20, each, Swiss money on a bank having one of its branches at Zurich.'

"The first one of the three checks was paid in cash to the Khedive, the others were converted into one check on Turin and made payable to Filippo Cavallini for 1,557,323 lire, 15.

"Second document, a check, dated March 27, 1915, for 1,557,323 lire, 15, issued by the same Zurich bank upon the *Banca Commerciale* of Turin, to the order of Filippo Cavallini.

"Third document, a letter under date of September 29, 1917, by which the Italian Military Mission at the Ministry of War at Paris, revealed how Filippo Cavallini cashed this check.

"Fourth document, a check dated March 29, 1915, for 1,000,000 francs, issued by the Ramella bank on the *Crédit Lyonnais* in Paris to the order of Filippo Cavallini, and paid to Cavallini on April 1, 1915.

"Fifth document, the register of the Grand Hotel in Paris which shows that Cavallini was in Paris on April 1, 1915."

The final link in the chain of evidence, which bound von Jagow and Bolo together, was furnished the French government's investigators by M. Sottolana, an Italian baritone, and at one time a friend of Cavallini. After he learned that Cavallini was trying to use him to cloak a treason plot, Sottolana cast Cavallini aside, and told the whole story to Captain Bouchardon.

Through Sottolana we also get our first glimpse of the ominous figure of Caillaux behind Bolo, a figure whose shadow grows blacker and blacker, as the Bolo ramification of the Great Conspiracy is further unfolded.

Sottolana's sworn statement follows:

"On the 1st of April, 1915, Cavallini asked me to do him a favor. He said he was about to receive one million francs and he would like me to accompany him, because it was such a large sum. We left the Grand Hotel, where he had asked me to meet him. He purchased a yellow stiff leather valise; hailed a taxi and ordered the chauffeur to drive us to the *Crédit Lyonnais.*

"When he presented the one million franc check, the paying teller said:

" 'What! Is this an April fool?'

"Cavallini replied: 'No, it is not an April fool, but a real check for a million.' Then the teller asked if Cavallini wanted to make a transfer. The latter replied he wanted the cash.

"After having waited about a quarter of an hour, he re-

ceived the money. I could see that it was a lot of money, but I could not count it to know how much it was.

"He took the valise to No. 17 Rue de Phalsbourg, Bolo's home. I waited in the taxi at the door. They came down together. Bolo left us. Cavallini then showed me the empty valise."

Cavallini and Bolo tried to employ Sottolana in their mysterious and suspicious correspondence. They wanted him to sign code telegrams, or carry letters to various mysterious addresses, but Sottolana declared that he would not render services of that character.

During this testimony he was asked:

"Did you not carry a letter to a lady?"

"Yes, sir."

"Who was she.?"

"Mme. Caillaux."

Captain Bouchardon's report continues the story of Bolo as follows:

"Bolo was now well launched in his career of treason. He redoubled his activities in Paris, when suddenly he received word from the Khedive to come immediately to Zurich. He as promptly obeyed. His passport shows that he started on April 11, 1915, and went by way of Mondane. He had previously announced his coming in two telegrams to Cavallini on April 8 and April 11. He wired that he was bringing 'Marie her bracelets,' and that it was necessary for Cavallini to advise 'the Doctor and Marie.' These mysterious terms meant Saddik and the Khedive.

"From the Khedive Bolo learned that the German officials who were watching him in Paris were not altogether pleased with the progress he was making. They did not see any results. Bolo proffered many excuses. He explained that it was by no means an easy task to obtain pacifist newspaper publicity in France in a few weeks.

"The time had now arrived for the payment of the second

installment of 2,000,000 marks. They were due at the end of April.

"Before leaving the Khedive Bolo asked him to remit, not to Cavallini, but a man by the name of Necker, director of the *Crédit Suisse* at Geneva, these 2,000,000 marks.

"And this was how the German gold was paid. It was remitted to the Khedive on April 30 in three checks. A sum amounting to 50,000 francs was given at once to Saddik. In the bank of the Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, 250,000 francs were deposited in the name of Saddik for the purchase of shares in *Le Figaro*.

"Another slice of 74,000 francs was sent to Cavallini by transfer to the Swiss and French bank at Paris, on July 23, 1915.

"Still another portion of 50,000 francs was distributed among Italian masonic lodges.

"Later, because of complications which will be explained later, 723,000 francs were returned by the Khedive to von Jagow.

"It appears that at this time Bolo received none of these two millions, and greatly displeased with his treatment on May 2, 1915, he addressed this telegram to Cavallini:

" 'Inform Verdi (the Khedive) absolutely necessary I see him this week, or shall cancel arrangement.'

"Bolo saw the Khedive in Zurich on May 14, 1915, and insisted that he be given more time to make pacifist connections with the French journals.

"If we may believe the story of Leonard, a confidential servant of the Khedive, Bolo finally received from the hands of Abbas Hilmi a very large sum of money, which the ex-ruler of Egypt had counted out that very same morning in his bedroom in the presence of Mlle. Lusange. The sum was made up of bank notes, mostly French, and they came for the most part from the Banca di Roma of Italy.

"Immediately following this conference with Bolo the Khe-

dive had a falling out with the German government. After leaving Bolo at Zurich Abbas Hilmi returned to Vienna, where he received a severe reprimand from von Tchirsky. The second payment had also been productive of no results, said Tchirsky, no French papers bought, no press campaign instituted, nothing. Abbas Hilmi was so overwhelmed with mortification, that he took refuge in Switzerland. Saddik deserted him, and Mohammed Yagghen Pacha succeeded Saddik, as *Ministre de la Plume*."

Caillaux now entered the Bolo drama again.

"On July 3, 1915, Bolo left Paris for Rome," said Captain Bouchardon, "and on August 5 Bolo and his wife are to be found at the Hotel Beaurivage, at Ouchy, where they remained until September 30, 1915.

"During this sojourn, Bolo received the visits of Mme. Caillaux, who was stopping at the same hotel."

CHAPTER IX

Bolo Finds German Gold in America

Sees Pavenstedt in New York—Pavenstedt Sees von Bernstorff in Washington—Bernstorff Wires von Jagow in Berlin—von Jagow Wires Consent for 10,000,000 Marks—German Banks with French Windows—Bolo and Humbert Visit King Alfonso

Bolo now decided to go direct to the fountain-head of German corruption. The down-fall of the Khedive presented this opportunity. Through Abbas Hilmi and Saddik he had treated with Germany second hand. Various intermediaries had eaten up most of the profits. Indeed, Bolo had received little if any of the second German millions.

The situation was peculiarly delicate. As the associate of the Khedive he had fallen into disrepute both at Vienna and Berlin. When Abbas Hilmi had been ordered to give an accounting of the 4,000,000 marks from von Jagow, the former Egyptian chieftain was unable to show results. The acquisition of a few shares of the mordibund *Rappel* and an attempt to buy some of the stock of the *Figaro* were indeed very little for 4,000,000 marks So enraged had the German paymasters become, that before he was thrown out of Austria Abbas Hilmi was obliged to pay back 723,000 francs to von Jagow.

Nevertheless, Bolo undertook to assume full charge of another pacifist newspaper subsidization scheme in France and reap a full harvest of German gold. He began cautiously. With 150,000 francs he bought some shares in the

Society of Professional and Political Newspapers. In this way he sought to come into closer contact with the newspaper proprietors and editors, whom he wished to exploit. He also negotiated for stock in *La Revue* and *Le Cri de Paris*.

For a long time von Jagow had plotted to get control of *Le Journal*, in which Senator Humbert had been waging a most vigorous campaign for "More Cannons, More Munitions," and urging every other possible means to defeat the Huns. If he could buy such a paper and at the opportune time throw its support to the German cause, von Jagow knew that he would be able to sway French opinion vastly more than with an avowedly pacifist paper, like the *Bonnet Rouge*. Bolo understood all this and believed Germany would give him great credit if he could get into close contact with such a prominent personality as Senator Charles Humbert, who was not only the director of *Le Journal* but also vice-president of the Army Commission of which Clemenceau was chairman.

With Humbert in *Le Journal* was associated Pierre Lenoir, who was supposed to have acquired a great fortune from his father, a well-known advertising contractor. Lenoir's wealth was finally traced to a German agent in Switzerland, named Schoeller. Humbert and Lenoir had quarrelled, and Humbert wanted to oust his rival. There was also a third partner, Guillaume Desouches, from whose presence Humbert also wanted to be free.

Lenoir's German gold furthermore had not appeared to have had any effect on the policy of *Le Journal*, for the newspaper continued its old-time campaign for greater military armaments and a more forceful prosecution of the war. Bolo learned the details of the internal snarls of *Le Journal*, and began laying plans accordingly.

Humbert like Bolo had sprung from the soil of the provinces. Born in Lorraine four years before the Germans defeated France in 1871 he knew as a child the meaning of

German Kultur. His parents were so poor, that many a night of his boyhood he went to bed supperless. The Humberts at last found German rule so intolerable, that they sought a kindlier province in what still remained of France.

Forced to earn his own living, while still a lad, Charles Humbert shifted from one menial employment to another until at the age of eighteen he was working 16 hours a day, as a dishwasher in the café of a little provincial town. Had it not been for the compulsory army service of France, he might have remained in much the same stratum of French society; but army life has some opportunities, and, when at nineteen he wrung out his dish towels for the last time and marched away in a soldier's uniform, he took a long stride upward. For this humble but intensely ambitious youth the army proved to be indeed the road to fame and fortune.

After two years as a private, Humbert obtained admittance to the officers' school at St. Maixent, where he rose to a junior lieutenancy. Later he became connected with the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments, and because of the notice of his superiors, he moved on upward in more influencial positions, until he became the aide-de-camp of General André. When General André was made Minister of War, he called his protégé to Paris and gave him an important departmental position.

As soon as Humbert became interested in the political life of France, centering, as it does, in Paris, revolving around a few powerful men within the shadow of the Élysée Palace, he began keeping notes. Whenever he heard a story, either good or bad, of a politician, a financier, or a newspaper proprietor or editor, he filed the story away in envelopes, which the French call *dossiers*. He seemed to have a mania for learning the inmost details of the private lives of public men. So assiduous was he in gathering biographical skeletons, that his collection came to be a constant menace for many a powerful French statesman.

In France a great number of political leaders have risen to power and wealth from the editorial rooms of newspapers. Clemenceau is the most striking example. Along this route Humbert also planned to rise. Through Philippe Bunau-Varilla, owner of *Le Matin*, Humbert obtained a position on that paper, and although he had never had any newspaper training he immediately evidenced the possession of other qualities, which more than offset this lack of experience. Tremendously aggressive, dramatically imaginative, he conceived a series of crusades to compel attention, excite the multitude, and increase circulation. He followed much the same lines as some of our most successful American newspaper publishers, or, in England, Lord Northcliffe.

Accordingly, Humbert began exposing various public abuses, with now and then a trenchant attack against some politician or financier whom he depicted as an enemy of the people. He even went outside of France on his man-hunting expeditions. In one assault, directed at King Leopold, he accused the Belgian monarch of being the chief perpetrator of the Congo horrors. In these fights Humbert's *dossiers* became a most potent and terrible weapon.

For fifteen years before the war Humbert had been urging national preparedness. His constant cry was for a stronger and greater army and navy. He continually pointed to the tremendous preparations of Germany. He warned the French of defeat, unless they awoke to their peril. Such then was the director of *Le Journal*, which Bolo plotted to buy for the enemy.

After some negotiations Humbert agreed to take Bolo's money. Humbert explained later that he never dreamed that it came from Germany. An agreement between Humbert and Bolo was signed January 30, 1916, and on February 12, Bolo sailed for New York from Bordeaux. From this point, the report of Captain Bouchardon picks up the story as follows:

"Bolo was carrying his agreement for control of *Le Journal* and a letter from Humbert to J. P. Morgan & Company of New York, stating that Bolo would deposit for Humbert's account 1,000,000 francs. He also carried a letter of introduction to Amsinck & Company of New York from the Périer Bank of Paris.

"Once aboard the steamship, Bolo sent a wireless to the German, Pavenstedt, an Amsinck partner, whom he had already known before the war. On reaching New York Bolo showed Pavenstedt his contract with Humbert. He told Pavenstedt that he also planned to buy other Paris newspapers. To carry out the *Le Journal* contract Bolo said he must have 10 million marks, for the reimbursement of which he would be willing to pledge the shares of *Le Journal.*

"Pavenstedt explained to Bolo that the proposition was not a commercial affair, and that he could hardly find any business man in New York, who would be willing to finance such an enterprise. 'I will speak to you frankly,' said Pavenstedt to Bolo, 'I know of only one man who, in my opinion, might be interested, and that is Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States. Would you object if I spoke to him?'

"Bolo at once agreed, but on the condition that his own name be kept secret. Accordingly, Pavenstedt went to Washington and saw von Bernstorff, with the result that on February 26, 1916, the German ambassador sent this cablegram to von Jagow, at Berlin:

" 'I received direct information from a source entirely reliable that a notable political person in one of the enemy countries will bring about peace. One of the principals in the matter in question is seeking a loan of $1,750,000 in New York, for which security will be furnished.

" 'I am not at liberty to give his name in writing. The affair seems to be of the greatest possible importance. Can the money be sent to New York at once? It is absolutely

certain that the intermediary shall keep the matter secret. Please reply by wire. A verbal report will be made as soon as I can find a person worthy of confidence to take it to Germany.'

"On Feb. 29, Berlin cabled Bernstorff:

" 'Reply to your telegram. Consent to loan, but only if pacifist action seems a really serious project, as it is extraordinarily difficult for us to open a credit at New York at present.'

"Bolo, on being informed of this correspondence by Pavenstedt, prepared a contract, in which he agreed to pay back the loan two years after the termination of the war. There were to be no interest charges, and Bolo was to deposit the shares of *Le Journal* in a bank as soon as paid for.

"At the beginning of the war Germany had on deposit in various New York banks many millions of dollars. The Deutsche Bank, for example, had large deposits in the Guaranty Trust, the Park National Bank, and a half dozen other New York financial institutions. Hugo Schmitt wasthe New York representative of the Deutsche Bank. Bernstorff decided it was easiest to draw on some of these deposits, and accordingly on March 5, 1916, he sent this wire to von Jagow:

" 'Kindly give orders to the Deutsche Bank to hold 10,000,000 marks at the disposal of Hugo Schmitt. The affair is full of promise. Other details will follow.'

"The necessary orders were given, as appears from a series of telegrams between Berlin and Hugo Schmitt. It was arranged that the payment of the money be made in installments and pass through several intermediaries in order not to arouse suspicion."

Just how this vast sum was cut into smaller amounts and transferred from one bank to another by means of cashier's checks and other camouflaged transactions was revealed by

Perley Morse, a certified accountant of New York, under the direction of Attorney General Merton E. Lewis, of the State of New York. The French Government through Ambassador Jusserand at Washington had asked the New York State authorities to make this investigation. The facts were not brought to light until more than a year after Bolo's visit, for when he was in New York, living in sumptuous style at the Hotel Plaza and entertaining distinguished guests at Sherry's and other banquet palaces, no one but Bernstorff, Pavenstedt, or other representatives of Germany knew he was anything more than a very wealthy Paris journalist. His letters from Senator Humbert gave him immediate entrée to J. P. Morgan & Company, the fiscal agents of Great Britain, with whom he opened an account.

The investigations of Perley Morse among the books of a half score New York banks were made the basis of the following telegram from Jusserand to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. It was presented to the Council of War of France on Sept. 26, 1917. It read as follows:

"Testimony gathered and documents examined and photographed by the State of New York demonstrate that from March 13 to April 1, 1916, the Guaranty Trust Company and the National Park Bank have paid out for Bolo's account $1,683,000 to Amsinck & Company of New York conducted by German-Americans. These banks had received this money from the New York agency of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, administered in New York by Hugo Schmitt. From Amsinck & Company the money was transferred by its principal partner, Pavenstedt, to the New York branch of the Royal Bank of Canada. Bolo had been recommended to Pavenstedt by the Périer Bank of Paris.

"The Canadian bank in its turn disposed of the money by paying it out upon orders of Bolo, as follows:

"To J. P. Morgan & Company, for the credit of Senator Charles Humbert, $170,068, or 1,000,000 francs.

"To the *Comptoir d'Escompte* de Paris, for the credit of Mme. Bolo, a little more than $500,000.

"For the credit of M. Jules Bois, (a French lecturer, who said he was utterly deceived by Bolo) $5,000.

"Leaving on deposit with J. P. Morgan & Company, $1,000,000."

And what became of the last $1,000,000?

The books of J. P. Morgan & Co. show that it was finally transferred to the Bank Périer. On returning to Paris, Bolo asked that this course be followed, and in reply he received the following letter confirming a cable to the same effect:

June 10, 1916.

Rochambeau,
Paul Bolo Pacha,
Messrs. Morgan Harjes & Co.,
Paris, France.

Dear Sir: We beg to advise that we debit your account today $1,000,000. Your cable transfer paid Agency Royal Bank Canada, New York, account Périer Campagnie.

Very truly yours,

H.P.Ks. J. P. Morgan & Co.

In telling how Humbert finally got control of *Le Journal*, Captain Bouchardon's report on Bolo said:

"Now that the money had been gathered together to buy *Le Journal*, it only remained to get Lenoir out of the way. A law suit had just began to annul Lenoir's sale of stock to Humbert, but thanks to the money from the Deutsche Bank, Humbert finally got rid of both Lenoir and Desouches. The 1,100 shares thus acquired were accordingly bought and paid for by German gold.

"Thus we see that by the masterful stroke of a bold adventurer Germany was realizing her scheme of getting

hold of one of the greatest organs of the French press. The speediness with which von Bernstorff and von Jagow accepted Bolo's proposal and advanced 10,000,000 marks, leaves no doubt that even before sailing for America, Bolo was sure that he would find all the funds necessary. He knew that Germany would furnish the money upon the security of the Humbert contract. His subterfuge in seeking Pavenstedt, as an intermediary, was simply a precaution inspired by prudence. Pavenstedt, himself, at last admitted that a cunning fox like Bolo knew that he, Pavenstedt, would of necessity call upon the German Ambassador for money.

"Bolo's plottings were the most iniquitious that can be conceived. Beginning in a low and vile way he suddenly found himself at the very height of treason. Had he not chosen so many intermediaries, had he spaced his journeys to Switzerland a little further apart and committed fewer imprudences of various other kinds, he might have realized till the end the whole fruits of his gigantic scheme. The plan was conceived with such perfidy, that even in spite of its collapse, Germany had the satisfaction of seeing how tremendously this scandal demoralized France."

Spectacular as were the operations of Bolo, they nevertheless should be regarded as only the outward evidences of Germany's deep laid plans to control the French press and implant in the French mind the insidious poison of pacifism. It should be remembered, that before Bolo went to America he visited the Bank Périer, and that in an inner office of this apparently French institution he received the letter of introduction to Pavenstedt, which proved the open sesame to the New York millions of the Deutsche Bank.

Behind the French names of many banks, many industrial and commercial houses in Paris before the war, there were powerful financial interests, which led to Berlin and later were proved to be the tentacles of the German military

system. The Paris offices of these institutions had French windows, but their vaults held German gold.

The Bank Périer was controlled by M. Bauer. Founded by the family of Casimir-Périer 118 years before it became involved with Bolo, it was controlled entirely by French interests until Bauer entered its directorate. Finally the German power in the institution became so dominant, that Edmond Périer, the last of the family of its founders, got out. In a sworn statement, M. Périer has told the story as follows:

"Bolo was not alone in this affair. He could not have been the sole author of such an enormous machination. It is necessary first of all to understand the mentality of our enemies. They are far sighted, practical, perfidious. They started this undertaking long, long ago. It existed before the Agadir scandal.

"Treason requires the movement of enormous sums. Checks, which represent fortunes, cannot be paid in money orders, as one may do in paying a housekeeper her wages. Therefore, how can an instrument be found for this kind of work? What sort of a financial institution can be utilized?

"It cannot be a credit house, because a credit house has too large a personnel. Indiscretions are to be feared. But with a private bank the task is a great deal easier. In a private bank there is one director. This fact the Germans of course understood. The Germans have always been careful in concentrating power in the hands of one man. It is unfortunately true, that by applying this principle everywhere they have accomplished great things for good as well as evil.

"Not only was the Bank Périer mixed up with the operations of Bolo. There are other ramifications. In Brazil the bank at this moment has a German representative whose name is Albert Landsberg. In view of such facts, I think I have the right to say that this bank is using my name

wrongly, a name which has been an honorable one for more than a century, but which has ceased to be such any more."

(M. Périer sought an injunction to prevent the bank from using his name, but failed. He took this action, however, long before its relations with Bolo were exposed.)

"The German power, the German connections of this bank must be constantly borne in mind to understand that Bolo was by no means the chief factor in the effort to poison the French press with German peace propaganda.

"Who gave Bolo the letter of introduction to Pavenstedt, which resulted in Bernstorff's furnishing the German millions?

"M. Bauer.

"Who was present at the introduction of Bolo to M. Humbert?

"M. Bauer.

"Who entered the Bank Périer not only to do a banking business, but also to play politics?

"M. Bauer.

"Why is it that the Chamber of Commerce of Rio Janeiro denounced the presence in that city of Landsberg, the German representative of the Bank Périer in Brazil?

"Why is it that M. Arthur Tiret, a former student of the École Polytechnique, a savant of great merit, should have written again and again to the authorities concerning this situation without having received a single reply?

"How is it that the authorities close their eyes?

"I know that other complaints have also been made concerning M. Bauer, and that special attention has been called to his frequent trips to Spain."

At this point M. Périer became more explicit. Over the heads of Bauer and Bolo he pointed his finger at Malvy, whose ministry was responsible for such complaints.

"Why were these charges ignored?" asked M. Périer.

"These things took place during the administration of M. Malvy, and again I ask.

"Why was no action taken?"

From other court records it is possible to look still further behind the French windows of the Bank Périer. After M. Bauer obtained control, and the scandal of the issuance of the Ottoman Bonds was laid bare, the Bank Périer was found to be involved. The bonds were launched upon the public on December 13, 1913, in Paris, London, Amsterdam, Antwerp and Brussels. They were for 100 million francs at six per cent., in the form of treasury notes, redeemable in four years.

Almost at the same time the French government was planning a loan of 800 millions to cover the expenses of the reorganization and the enlargement of her war equipment. M. Caillaux was then Minister of Finance, and it was an open secret that the loan failed because of his methods. When the war broke upon France in August, 1914, the consequences of the collapse of the war armament loan became fearfully apparent. There were neither cannons nor munitions to meet the most modern and most powerful weapons, with which the enemy was superabundantly supplied.

At the same time that the French loan failed, the Turks hastened payment of some of their debts with French money and ordered war material from Germany.

The Bank Périer was convicted and fined 8,125,000 francs for not having complied with the formalities prescribed by the law of May 25, 1872, relative to the launching of loans in France for foreign governments. Upon the appeal of the bank, the judgment was reversed by the Second Chamber of the Tribunal of the Seine, over which M. Hugot presided. The case was then carried to the Court of Appeals for final judgment.

During one government examination M. Bauer told this story of his dealings with Bolo:

"Bolo was introduced to my partner, M. Marchal, in March, 1914, as a very wealthy and influential gentleman. He invited us to participate in his establishment of a mortgage bank in Colombia. We did nothing.

"Later, on hearing that we intended to start a bank in Cuba, Bolo offered to go there and act in these negotiations. Bolo asserted that he had some very important connections with the President of Cuba and also with a Cuban bishop. He asked us to give him a letter of introduction to our correspondents in New York, to the Royal Bank of Canada and the house of Amsinck, with which we have had business dealings for half a century.

"Bolo went to Cuba by way of New York. When he returned we found that the affair had not succeeded. On another occasion Bolo introduced to our bank the Consul General of Colombia at London, who wished to borrow 250,000 pounds in behalf of his government. Bolo received as his commission 1,250 pounds in Colombian bonds."

After the outbreak of the war, Bolo proposed various enterprises, M. Bauer said, as for example the supply of provisions and munitions, speculations in Spanish funds and the purchase of Argentine cattle. None of these schemes materialized.

Bolo's treachery, M. Périer's revelations of the German interests in the Bank Périer, Germany's far reaching plans to buy the French press and spread the pestilence of pacifism and defeatism throughout the length and breadth of France were not revealed, however, until long after Bolo returned from America with his German millions. For a time, he flourished still more luxuriously, and in his sumptuous salon n the Rue de Phalsbourg, he mingled with many of the most influential men and women of France.

It was at this time, which was indeed the zenith of his fantastic career, that he made a trip with Humbert to the court of the King of Spain. Simultaneously the figure of

Caillaux again loomed behind the scene. King Alphonso, himself, told the story in a statement to General Danville, the French military attaché at Madrid.

"During October, 1916, I received a visit from M. Humbert and M. Bolo, who came to see me at San Sebastian," he said. "They employed several intermediaries to obtain an audience, among them the governor of the province.

"The conversation lasted more than an hour. M. Humbert gave me the most interesting information concerning the military efforts of France, and spoke about the probable duration of the war.

"M. Bolo, who seemed unfamiliar with military affairs, took but an insignificant part in the conversation as long as it dealt with such matters. The theme shifted finally from war to politics, and M. Humbert spoke to me about various political men, especially M. Caillaux. He said that the former Premier had the highest esteem for me, and that he was keenly interested in events in Spain. This surprised me, because in the past M. Caillaux had never seemed particularly friendly to me.

"I asked for an explanation, but M. Humbert simply repeated the remark in various ways, each time calling upon M. Bolo to substantiate his assertions. Thereupon, I inferred that at least one of the objects of the journey of M. Humbert was to reconcile me with M. Caillaux, and that Bolo had accompanied him to confirm his assurances.

"I also had the impression that M. Caillaux, who might return to power at any moment, wished to obliterate by this courteous procedure the bad impression produced upon me by certain remarks attributed to him years ago."

CHAPTER X

Duval, Miser, Hypocrite, Philosopher

Reorganizes Bonnet Rouge for Germany—His Dreams of Avarice—The San Stefano Bubble—Marx, the Mannheim Banker—Marx, the Enemy Paymaster—The Poison of Duval's Editorial Irony

Germany now became exceedingly dissatisfied with the management of its defeatist propaganda in the French newspapers. Thus far the only good work, from the Hun viewpoint, had been done by the anarchist and Bolshevik pamphleteers. Bolo's spectacular operations had apparently accomplished nothing. Despite Bolo's money, *Le Journal* continued its cry for the most vigorous prosecution of the war. Almereyda's *Bonnet Rouge* was adjudged by its German critics as lacking forcefulness and generalship. "Its articles showed that its editor had more emotions than brains," reported one of von Jagow's Paris agents.

As a matter of fact both Bolo and Almereyda were squandering most of their treason riches in luxury and excess. Almereyda had now established two villas in addition to his two extravagantly furnished apartments in Paris. One of his estates was at St. Cloud, the other at Paramé. The maintenance of these country places apparently made no great hole in his pocket, for simultaneously he bought one of the most luxurious limousines in Paris, and within it enthroned the notorious Emilienne Brévannes. When Mlle. Emilienne changed the shade of her hair, all the upholstery of the limousine had to be redecorated to match.

Bolo and Lenoir had also forgotten their German masters for their own pleasures. More and more frequently Bolo was the host at banquets and masked balls in the Rue de Phalsbourg. On one of these occasions he distributed walnuts, as souvenirs. Each walnut contained a diamond Lenoir squandered his ill-gotten riches on the *demi-monde.* The full details of his treason were not revealed until years afterward, as will be told in Chapter XXI.

What Germany needed for this demoralized situation was a hard headed, systematic business man, who could organize and direct a group of newspapers so to reach the greatest number of people as frequently and as forcefully as possible, who could engineer this press offensive the same as a German military drive.

In casting about for the right man the Germans found M. Duval. In him they discovered a cunning, shrewd, active, persevering, painstaking, hard working individual, who in addition was the very secret of secretiveness—except occasionally with women. At bottom he was a miser. He was as niggardly with his words as his centimes. He had few friends. Friendships to Duval were like clothes. He threw them away, when he could use them no longer.

Before the war Duval had lived a wretched existence. Always believing he deserved success, he never found recognition. From one small position he shifted to another. He always dreamed that someday, he would find a place, where he could exert all his faculties to the utmost and obtain wealth and power, but the occasion never came.

The route by which Germany found Duval was long and circuitous. It led even as far away as Constantinople, and went back many years before the war. It was involved in one of Germany's many schemes to exploit Turkey, to obtain tribute from the industry, commerce, the natural resources, the public utilities, and even the amusements of the Ottoman Empire.

DUVAL

"He was a miser in everything. He counted his German gold and hid it. He spent no time talking about himself. He wasted no effort making useless friends."

Duval was assistant secretary of the Society of San Stefano, a company founded in 1910 by German, Hungarian, Swiss and French capitalists to build and operate a great bathing beach concession near Constantinople. It was to be a little principality in itself. The adjoining territory was to be developed into a great private park, divided into estates in which villas were planned to satisfy the whims of the most fastidious.

It was to be made the greatest and most fashionable winter resort in the world. Here the wealthy classes of Germany, Austria and Hungary might find refuge from the snow and ice of the short, dark days of the year. Here they might come in the luxurious express trains of the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad, in which Germany was also sinking millions for military as well as commercial purposes.

Following their usual custom, the Germans brought in capital from other countries, taking care to keep the control in German hands. Among the French share holders the largest was M. de Marcay. Yet of the 80,000 shares held by de Marcay, nearly all were for the account of H. A. Marx, a Mannheim banker. Other subscribers were M. Steiner, Hungarian; M. Widner, Swiss, and M. Volmasson, German.

The Balkan troubles interfered greatly with the affairs of the San Stefano company, with the result that these first years were marked by many vicissitudes which threatened disaster continually. Meantime the Germans obtained complete control. Marx, the Mannheim banker, was the only promoter, who did not dispair. Finally he put nearly the whole of the Society of San Stefano in his own private safe.

In this era of transition Duval entered the enterprise. He had been recommended to Marx by M. Dausset, former president of the Municipal Council of Paris, who held a few shares. Duval had been Dausset's electoral agent, had worked for Dausset's political success and done him many

favors; and Dausset sought to show his appreciation by finding Duval a job. Marx looked Duval over, noticed his unusual reticence, his apparently complete self-effacement, and gave him a kind of secretaryship, at a salary of 250 francs a month. Although M. Dausset later retired from San Stefano, Duval remained. He more and more devoted himself to the fortunes of the Mannheim banker.

Duval thought he had at last found the one, great opportunity of a life time. He revelled in the thought that someday, he would be an officer in a corporation which would control the greatest and most famous pleasure resort in the world. He had seen enough of German organization, German thoroughness of preparation, German financial generalship. He worked so hard for Marx, that he frequently intimated that 250 francs were hardly enough for his services, but Marx always replied:

"No. We have no money. Wait."

And Duval waited.

Duval was of the type of man, who always tried to make more out of his travelling expenses than his salary. He would account to his employer for a ticket and berth on the fastest and most expensive express, and then sit up all night in the dirty, foul smelling compartment of a third-class coach. But with Marx, he had so little opportunity to pad his expense account, that he constantly complained to his wife that the German banker was tighter than the steel jacket of a Krupp cannon. For example, in 1913, Duval wrote his wife:

"Marx, as I told you, is charming, but he has not yet spoken to me about money, and that is what interests me."

Again:

"Marx gave me 500 francs, but I owe 150 francs to the treasury, which I must reimburse and I have to pay my hotel bill yet. That does not leave much."

Also:

"I shall try to make something extra on this. I can't tell how much, but what bothers me is that Marx buys my ticket, himself. I was expecting to make at least 200 francs on my transportation, but am left nothing."

If it were possible to get an invitation to dinner and thus avoid the otherwise necessary expense of eating, Duval was always a most appreciative guest. Friendships which provided food he gladly cultivated. In one letter from Germany, he explained that he was counting on an invitation to dine with Marx, and that otherwise he would not have money enough to pay his way back to Paris, "because," he added, "restaurants are dear in Germany." He said he really did not know how to spend his evenings, because if he went anywhere he had to give tips. There was no heat in his room. He had been thinking of getting warm by going to a church concert, "but," he reflected, "they might ask for a contribution."

In Paris Duval and his wife lived in the meanest, most comfortless fashion. He figured his household expenses down to the centime. He always kept putting money away, and would borrow before drawing on his bank account.

Duval delighted in books, in literature, philosophy, and all the other abstract sciences. In Aristotle or Kant he sought to forget his narrow environments, the little, pinched, stale smelling home, where his wife cooked and washed and lived the life of a country peasant. Mme. Duval never read, because she couldn't. She had only the vaguest conception of even the titles of the books, with which she beheld her lord and master commune for hours and hours together. She knew nothing but drugery, and when he told her that he thought she ought to earn some money by working out, she acquiesced, because her poor, benighted mind knew of no other answer.

Into the streets she went, looking for work. At last she obtained employment as the linen keeper of the great Lari-

boisière hospital, which is situated almost along side of the Gare du Nord (Northern Railroad Station) and fronts upon the Boulevard de la Chapelle. Even later, when Duval finally plunged his hands into a veritable river of gold, he permitted his wife to continue to do the same menial work both at home and outside.

When the war burst upon Europe, Duval's glittering San Stefano bubble burst also. But he did not forget Marx. On August 3, 1914, only two days after the German armies began smashing their way through Belgium toward Paris, he sat down and wrote the Mannheim banker a letter, which contained this cryptic passage.

"The best way to continue to make myself worthy of your confidence is to await the end of the storm. Always ready to excute your orders, if you see fit to give me any."

Was Duval offering himself to the enemy for sale?

Did he now plan to make his San Stefano connections with Marx a highroad to treason?

At all events, he kept in close touch with Marx, who established headquarters in Berne, Switzerland, where he frequently received his Stefano secretary in secret conference. In the first two years of the war Duval made as many as thirteen trips to Switzerland, and always for the purpose of seeing Marx.

Through Switzerland Germany maintained various channels of communication into France. Switzerland was the centre of the German spy system. At Geneva, Zurich, Berne her agents met, took their orders, disappeared over the French border, and, thanks to Malvy's police, returned in safety. Switzerland also was the clearing house for German defeatist and Bolshevik propaganda, and from Switzerland the "press poison squad," as it came to be known, went forth to spread pestilence in France, Italy, Russia and England. The pacifist movement in America, before the United States declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917, was as-

signed to von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington. Count von Luxburg, at Buenos Ayres, handled all German propaganda in South America, but he generally reported to Berlin through von Bernstorff.

Marx, of Mannheim, was selected as one of the German espionage and propaganda paymasters in Switzerland. Investigations by the French secret service in Switzerland resulted in this laconic report, which is to be found in the files of the French Ministry of War:

"Marx, a banker of Mannheim, whose bank was negotiating before the war various government transactions, is at present established at Berne. His functions are to perform money operations in which the German Legation does not wish to show its hand, as for example, the payment of subsidies to agents."

When the Berlin foreign office became more and more disappointed with Bolo and Almereyda, it sought through Marx to find reinforcements. Marx turned to Duval. The German banker and spy paymaster had come to learn those qualities in Duval which seemed to fit him exactly for any enterprise in which secrecy, perfidy, and hypocrisy were vital.

In May, 1915, during one of Duval's visits to the Swiss Republic, Marx broached his plan. Besides Duval, there was also present an old time newspaper man, named Marion, whom Duval had recommended as a man worthy of all confidence and not "too scrupulous." Duval had once worked for Marion for only 200 francs a month; but both Marion and Duval were wise enough not to tell Marx how little some French newspaper men earn. With Marx they talked thousands and millions.

Despite Duval's guarantee that Marion possessed discretion, the latter told the whole story to a woman as soon as he got back to Paris. She was Mme. Baux, and Mme. Baux told others. Years afterward, when the story finally reached

the ears of Captain Bouchardon, the great investigator of the Great Conspiracy, she was summoned, as a witness, and testified as follows:

"On his return Marion told me that he had met Marx, the German, and that Marx had spoken to them like this: 'If we had been better known in France, none of these things would have happened. We must have a newspaper which can serve as a connecting link between Germany and France.'

"I learned that later Duval had gone to Switzerland alone, and Marion said to me: 'You know Duval made arrangements with Marx. As a result the newspaper will soon appear.'

"I protested, but Marion said: 'Come on, we will not do any harm. It is for the sake of peace. It is for a pacifist campaign.'

"Later when Duval came to lunch at our home one day, he said he was going to start a newspaper in Paris, which was to prepare for the establishment of economic relations between France and Germany after the war.

"But I replied that they were doing wrong. Duval retorted that I was wrong in worrying about it. After that, Duval made numerous trips to Switzerland, and each time I could not help saying to him, 'I am scared to pieces at the thought of what you are trying to do.'

"Yes, I hoped the censorship would stop the publication of these articles. My worry was boundless, when I saw these strongly pacifist articles were allowed to pass."

On June 23, 1915, about a month after Marx unfolded his pacifist ideas to Duval and Marion, there was a meeting of the directors of the San Stefano Company in Geneva, at which upon the recommendation of Marx it was decided to liquidate the company. The "task" of liquidation was intrusted to Duval and two Swiss associates.

As a matter of fact the San Stefano concern had nothing

to liquidate. It had been dead for more than a year. Witnesses later were found, who testified there was not a sou in the treasury, even at the beginning of the war. The liquidation job for Duval was merely a blind for his defeatist campaign.

Marx looked over the newspaper field in Paris, and decided that Duval should take hold of the *Bonnet Rouge* and reorganize it from top to bottom, that Almereyda should be permitted to remain its ostensible editor-in-chief, and in order to placate his avarice he should receive some extra money to permit him to continue the mad life of dissipation and excess, to which he had surrendered himself. But behind Almereyda, Duval should be the real power in the newspaper, should dictate its editorial policy, and should, himself, write a series of articles that would exploit all the most insidious and perfidious doctrines of pacifism.

So one day in 1916 Duval entered the ramshakled offices of the *Bonnet Rouge*, and finding Almereyda at his desk so stupified with drugs, that he could not lift his head, Duval said to the office boy:

"Call a taxicab and send your chief home."

"Which home?" asked the lad in blank astonishment.

"Any," replied Duval.

Through the office the new business manager walked with slow step, examining all he found, re-arranging this, throwing away that, bringing what order he could out of chaos, and when he had fiuished, he sat down at Almereyda's perfumed, opiate haunted desk, and wrote an order for cleaners and decorators to come the next day.

"We want peace, but not a morphine peace," was his remark to one of the *Bonnet Rouge* reporters, as he closed Almereyda's desk, and turned to leave. Afterward, when Duval's deathlike reticence had become the marvel of the office, it was explained that he could not have uttered so

many words on his first visit, if his tongue had not been loosened by the fumes of Almereyda's desk.

Marion had already become the administrator of the *Bonnet Rouge*, and Duval turned the details of the reorganization over to his former employer. With Almereyda Duval soon became popular because of his inexhaustible store of money. Then too Duval was so modest. He preferred to sit in a back office, and let Marion and Almereyda see visitors and be introduced as the "administrator" or the "editor-in-chief." Duval had never wanted fame, but power. In a note book of philosophical reflexions, he once wrote:

"Fame is the slave, power, the master of fate."

In this same note book he also wrote:

"I like theatricals, thanks to my passes. They show how the unseen brain of the playwright makes mere puppets of the actors and actresses. They explain the power of mind over matter."

After he had taken hold of the *Bonnet Rouge*, he said one day to his stenographer in a burst of confidence which completely staggered her:

"Formerly, I was a very frank man. I have become profoundly hypocritical. It is the fault of society."

In pursuance of his contract with Marx, Duval began filling the columns of the *Bonnet Rouge* with articles originally drafted and passed upon by Germany's own publicity experts in Berlin. They were the result of the concentrated thought of Germany's best brains, and contained all the cunningly combined ingredients of psychic poison, which German "Kultur" could possibly invent.

How these articles were traced directly into Germany, how they were phrased with such subtleness as to stir the passions of the French against their Allies and even against themselves will be told in a later chapter.

In addition to the "made in Germany" articles, Duval wrote many others in which he gave free rein to his own

style of humor. He had always regarded himself as a master of irony. In his idle hours, before the days of Marx and San Stefano, he found infinite delight in writing essays on the foibles and weaknesses of human nature. He had laid these mental products carefully away in the belief that some day, when his merits were more fully recognized, he would sell them for a good, round figure.

Duval's articles in the *Bonnet Rouge* were all signed "M Badin." Here is one, for instance, from the issue of June 29, 1915:

"Upon learning that the British were shelling the German trenches vigorously and had penetrated the enemy lines at several points without committing the imprudence of going too far forward and install themselves in an advanced position, I conceived the idea of inviting my intimate friends in order to celebrate this great event.

"But the first one to whom I disclosed my intention, dissuaded me. He said:

" 'Your enthusiasm is premature. What you thought was an offensive was only a test of ammunition. The Allies have accumulated artillery and munitions for over a year. You ought to know that they are not going to squander everything in a few days time, to find themselves suddenly short. We have not only a stock of material but also an ample supply of patience. Let us increase the latter.

" 'Therefore, postpone your celebrating until our territory is liberated.

" 'At any rate, you ought to know we are not in any haste. The *poilus* have become admirably accustomed to the existence of troglodytes (cave dwellers). The civilians have also organized their lives for an indefinite prologation of the war. There is no need of hastening the end.

" 'Furthermore, since the honor of beginning this ammunition test falls to our friends of Great Britain, be assured

that they will act with coolness and calm, so characteristic of their temperment.

" 'No foolish rashness. . . . Oh, no.

" 'You may think that two years of war are too long, but what are two years of war? Without going so far as to look for a parallel in the One Hundred Years War, or the Thirty Years War, may I not say that Napoleon's régime was one uninterrupted succession of combats?

" 'Come on, dear Monsieur Badin, do not worry about celebrating forthwith the final victory.'

"As my friend's talk seemed worthy of consideration, I think I am acting patriotically in giving him this small amount of publicity."

Duval tried to neutralize criticism of the Germans by making it appear ridiculous. Here is a typical example, printed for special circulation in the trenches:

"The other evening, a friend of mine, a so-called repatriot, gave a dinner. As I was one of the party, I took advantage of the occasion to interview him.

"He related to me such things, as would make the hair stand on end. He said first: 'I shall not discuss in detail the attacks on women. All the newspapers have furnished you this information. It is unimaginable. Things were so bad in one region, that we asked ourselves how the Germans could find time to fight, when it seemed as if all their time was occupied by their orgies. . . .

" 'About their thefts and pillages, however, I shall be more explicit. You cannot imagine what a genius the Germans have for plunder. They can find a way to steal money and securities from people who never had any.

" 'For example, prior to the invasion of the Teutons, it was thought there were only two pianos in the town in which I lived. Well, sir, after these Germans came they carried off fifty pianos. As for clocks, bronzes and other works of art, the crimes of the Germans have been positively fantastic.

They stole about thirty wagonloads of these objects from the most miserable huts and sent them to the other side of the Rhine.'

" 'But tell me about the atrocities. How about the atrocities?' I asked.

" 'Well, sir,' he replied, 'they committed atrocities. I shall not enumerate or describe them. The papers tell you about them.'

" 'How about the food question?' I asked.

" 'They eat bread made of saw dust and a species of cabbage. Once a week they have an imponderable ration of seal meat; and now and then a filet of salt herring half decomposed.'

" 'And you, what were you eating?'

" 'Ah, there is where their cold cruelty reveals itself. Those butchers did not feed us any better than they fed themselves. They said to us, "Your countrymen are trying to starve us by means of a blockade. Well, you shall suffer with us." '

Duval constantly sought to stir the discontent of the soldier in the trenches by reminding him of his hardships, by insinuating that his task was as thankless as it was dangerous. Here is one of his pictures of a *poilu.*

"His moral and physical health was maintained in pretty good conddition. Only one thing worried him. It seemed to him that the ceiling was constantly lowering, that the soil of the trenches was rising, and that his arms were becoming shorter, when he was carrying food to his mouth. Finally, he found a small mirror one day near a wall. He rejoiced over this, because he was going to be able to shave himself, but when he looked at himself in the mirror, he felt an indescribable satisfaction. His neck had grown extremely long."

So much for the soldiers, who fought and died to save France. Of the munition workers, who toiled behind the

lines and made possible the victories of the French armies, Duval had this to say in the *Bonnet Rouge* of April 20, 1917:

"The workers express great joy because of their worldly goods. Flags of the Allies decorate the walls of the most humble lodgings. Before the portraits of our generals, flowers are renewed each day.

"Cereals are so abundant that the chickens are fed with grains and the cattle with bread. Meats and vegetables arrive in such great quantities that the consumer is disgusted with them. If no coal is found any longer anywhere, it is because the warlike ardor with which the whole nation is ablaze makes the burning of other fuel unnecessary.

"Finally, one more fact, which will completely assure us of the definite destruction of our adversaries. The penguins are mobilizing and are preparing to declare war on Germany."

CHAPTER XI

Almost Caught

Duval's Trips to Switzerland Arouse Suspicion—Caillaux Alarmed—Examines Duval's Dossier—Marion Burns Papers—Mme. Duval's Mind a Blank—Duval Conquered ..by Mlle. Vial—His Gay Ride to Mamers—Marx and Caillaux—Marx's Handwriting in Caillaux's Safe

By the end of the summer of 1916 under the careful, systematic and ever active management of Duval, the *Bonnet Rouge* had become a formidable organ of opinion. Its columns were filled with news displayed graphically and impressively. It's editorials were based apparently upon high authority and buttressed with comprehensive and timely interviews.

An ever increasing flood of money was now pouring in. Duval made almost monthly trips to Switzerland, where he received checks from Marx which ranged from 77,000 to 150,000 francs. He found Marx at Berne. He also consulted the German publicity agents in out of the way villas in the Alps, where he might escape the watch of the French foreign secret service, and receive instructions in the latest and most approved German methods of instilling the poisons of pacifism and defeatism into the French mind. After each return from Switzerland there was another peace drive in the *Bonnet Rouge*, and another package of franc notes deposited in Duval's private safe. Duval paid them out with great discretion. He never entered these "receipts" in the ledger of the newspaper, but handed them direct to Almereyda,

Marion and Goldsky, while to others in the office, who did not know the evil source of his money, the old miser doled out the German gold in "salaries."

Everything in the office seemed to be running tranquilly, till one day in September, a reporter, named Landau, entered on the run. He had just leaped out of the tonneau of one of Almereyda's racing cars. The dust of the street made his eyes look all the more hollow, as he stared around the office.

"Where is Duval?" he asked.

Landau addressed this question to Mme. Lewis, a stenographer, as she tucked away a loose curl and powdered her nose.

"He is still out of town," she replied. "You want to see M. Marion, don't you?"

"Yes, the very minute he is disengaged," said Landau. A moment later, two mysterious looking gentlemen, who were simply known as representatives of liquor interests, walked out of Marion's office and into the street. The next instant Landau was bending over Marion's desk.

"I have just come from M. Caillaux," he said. "We are all to be arrested. Caillaux said so. He has seen the *dossier* ofDuval in the Ministry of the Interior, and he wants to understand all about Duval. He asks for certain explanations. We must see Almereyda and Duval, as soon as possible, and have them consult Caillaux."

Marion fairly leaped from his chair.

"Duval is still in Switzerland," he exclaimed. " We must act without him. We must burn those papers at once. Quick, let us get them before anything happens."

Orders were immediately issued to all the other members of the staff to tell no one of Landau's message of warning. Meantime Marion opened a big safe of which only two or three in the office knew the combination. He asked Landau

to leave him alone as he sorted out various letters, which he carried to a back room and burned.

Marion well understood the art of burning papers. He knew that many a crime had been traced from cinders. He had not only been a newspaper writer, but he had combined with journalism the more precarious avocation of blackmail. He had been condemned twice for swindling, and once for desertion. He had long ago made up his mind that he would never be caught again.

As Marion crumpled up the last charred leaf of paper, he suddenly cried out:

"What did Duval do with those last papers he showed me? Oh, I almost forgot them."

Marion made one more search through the secret drawers of Duval's desk, to which he also had the key, and then said almost aloud:

"He would not leave them here in this office anyway. They must be at his home."

Calling Mme. Lewis he said:

"You must do exactly as I tell you, and everything will be all right. The other political parties are trying to make trouble. That is all. I wish you would go to Duval's house and see Mme. Duval. She may be out, for she works in a hospital. Never mind, wait for her. No matter how long you have to wait, wait. Tell her to destroy all papers in the house, which relate to the *Bonnet Rouge*. Do you understand, all papers that concern his newspaper business and his trips abroad must be destroyed immediately."

Mme. Lewis had won the confidence of both Duval and Almereyda. She was always called upon, when anything of a peculiarly dangerous nature was on foot.

Through the streets as fast as a puffing Paris taxicab could take her, the faithful stenographer hurried to the Duval home. She showed Mme. Duval the letter, but Mme Duval simply stared:

"I don't know where he keeps any of his papers," she replied slowly. "He never says anything to me about his affairs."

"We must look, then," exclaimed Mme. Lewis impulsively. "Come, come." The wife still stared. "No," she faltered. "I know he would not like it. He never wants any of his papers disturbed. I am afraid to touch anything."

With Marion's warning still ringing in her ears, Mme. Lewis made an effort to find the papers her master wanted, but soon gave up in dispair. Instead, she found a long series of notes in which the miser philosopher had expressed various mental abstractions, and among them a half completed treatise on the genesis of the soul.

As soon as Duval returned from Switzerland, in response to a hurry call from Marion, he was told that Caillaux had become greatly worried by various press attacks upon his connections with the *Bonnet Rouge*. Landau explained that Caillaux thought that certain people in the *Bonnet Rouge* office were compromising him by various indiscretions.

"The 'President' (as the *Bonnet Rouge* crowd always spoke of Caillaux) thinks that this newspaper talk about your trips to Switzerland will land us all in jail," said Landau to Duval.

"Yes, Malvy has been asked by Premier Briand to make an investigation of everyone in this office," interrupted Almereyda. "Malvy said that you should not ask for a renewal of your passport for any more Switzerland trips, until matters right themselves," looking at Duval as he spoke.

"You had best go and see the 'President' and explain everything," said Marion, as he dusted off the lint from Duval's coat, noticing, as he did so, a number of seams that were worn threadbare.

"No, no, I do not want to see M. Caillaux," responded the business manager of the *Bonnet Rouge,* turning toward his

inner office, as if he would rather lock himself behind its doors, far away from Caillaux and everyone else. "I am no orator. I can say nothing to Caillaux."

But his associates persisted. They were afraid they would lose Caillaux's friendship. They thought that if Malvy's master was not propitiated there would be no more passports, no more checks from Switzerland.

Duval continued obdurate. He would not listen to argument, and so at last his confreres decided upon a strategem. They drove up to the *Bonnet Rouge* office one day in one of Almereyda's finest automobiles, and announced that they were all going to the Caillaux country place at Mamers to introduce Landau's fiancée to the "President." They went into Duval's stuffy office, and tried to drag him out.

"You must come along too," insisted Landau. "You will enjoy the ride. You are working too hard."

"No, I must work," replied Duval doggedly.

"Oh, I wish you would come," said a handsomely gowned lady, whose veil just revealed her round, limpid eyes. She had entered quietly, and now stood at Duval's very elbow. The old man gallantly sprang to his feet . He was already conquered.

"Mlle. Vial, my fiancée," explained Landau, stepping forward.

"Yes, and you will sit right next to me," added Mlle. Vial.

And so she did. Landau climbed in with the chauffeur. Duval sat in one luxurious corner of the tonneau and the only lady in the party leaned gently against his shoulder. Marion and Goldsky, who had been a nurse and stretcher bearer in the army, before he got a job on the *Bonnet Rouge* and wrote with all the authority of another Napoleon under the pen camouflage of "Gen. N——," sat opposite.

Before the automobile reached Mamers, Duval had become the life of the party. Under the benign influence of Mlle.

Vial his words scintillated with flashes of wit, with now and then touches of satire, historic allusions, or the reflections of his own quaint philosophy.

"The old crab has certainly crawled out of his shell," whispered Goldsky to Marion, as the party stepped out upon the velvet lawn of the Caillaux villa.

Duval was going to climb back into the automobile when Landau said:

"M. Caillaux will be delighted to see you. Now is your opportunity to straighten everything out."

Duval drew Landau to one side, and replied:

"No, no. I cannot ask for my passport now. Caillaux will not dare help me. I do not wish to attract attention. I must keep in the back ground."

"Oh, you have said all that before," laughed Landau.

"True then, true now," insisted Duval. "Furthermore, I don't think M. Caillaux will receive me."

Again Mlle. Vial went to the rescue.

"M. Caillaux will certainly enjoy a man of your mentality," she said, taking Duval by the arm. "Why, I think you are a great deal more clever, than he."

With Mlle. Vial on one side, and Landau on the other, Duval walked through the great doorway, and permitted his name to be announced.

"You must have confidence in Caillaux's star," said Landau to Duval, while they waited. "You must have faith in his power. If we prove to him that we are keeping within the law, that we have done nothing indiscreet, that we are still fighting his battles, we shall have no further trouble. Caillaux still is able to get what he wants from the government. Malvy, who controls the passport bureau of the Prefecture of Police, is still in the cabinet, and Malvy is the same as Caillaux."

In the speech of Lt. Mornet, Chief Prosecutor of the Third Council of War, at a trial which later will be described

in detail, the far reaching importance of this automobile trip to Mamers has been set forth in the following language:

"Up to the last minute neither Marion nor Duval thought that they would be invited in. The truth of the matter was that M. Caillaux was not particularly pleased to receive in his country retreat of Mamers, in a peaceful corner of a peaceful province, such boisterous guests as Duval's companions.

"Just the same M. Caillaux consented to see them. That the interview was not entirely cordial is not to be doubted. They were not asked to stay to luncheon. As Marion said afterward, 'I realized that after all we were not expected. M. Caillaux pretexted a luncheon at the General Council to excuse himself for not being our host.'

"Caillaux's excuses, however, showed he was courteous and interpreted the visit as an act of good will. If they did not sit down at the Caillaux family table, they drank the Caillaux Oporto wine and accepted the Caillaux cigars.

"I am sure that while returning from Mamers to Paris, Duval was able to say to himself:

" 'Henceforth, I will be able to do anything. I have been received by a former Premier of France, who knows my relations with Marx. I am perfectly safe from now on.'

"And to inspire Duval with still greater confidence, Landau and Goldsky said to him:

" 'You need have no more hesitancy about going to the police and asking for a passport. We will go with you, and have M. Leymarie, M. Malvy's assistant, take care of you.'

"And Landau and Goldsky made good their promise. They introduced Duval to the Minister of the Interior, who received him with this greeting:

" 'You wish to go to Switzerland to see Marx? All right, you shall have your passport.' "

Long after the Mamers interview, tell tale papers were discovered by the French foreign secret service associated

with the Italian police, which prompt the following questions:

(1) When Caillaux and Duval met, did not these two men already understand they were working for the same master?

(2) Did not both of them know Marx?

(3) Did Duval tell Caillaux that he had obtained checks from Marx to liquidate the San Stefano Company, or to spread German propaganda in France?

The documents which provoke these speculations were found in Caillaux's strong box in Florence along with the papers which revealed his plans of a socialist *coup d'état*. They proved that Caillaux also had had dealings with Marx. They indicated that when Thérèse Duverger was caught with Beauquier, and it became known that Lipscher through his mistress was seeking interviews with Caillaux, Germany immediately dropped Lipscher and the Duverger woman, and turned to Marx.

Through Marx new lines were to be established between Paris and Berlin, by which official messages could be carried to Caillaux and his power again invoked in another tremendous drive for a separate peace. Germany's latest terms had to be delivered into his hands in a way, which would persuade him that they were backed by the Kaiser himself.

Two papers in Caillaux's safe deposit vault related to Marx. One was typewritten. It read:

"M. Lipscher, as an intermediary, does not seem desirable. I place myself at your disposal and am authorized to establish the communications which you desire."

The second paper was in hand-writing, and read:

"H. A. Marx, in care of Professor Ersberg, 27 Steinerstrasse, Berne."

The signature was later compared with that of the Marx, who was paying treason money to Duval. Both were identically the same. Investigation of the activities of Professor Ersberg revealed him as one of the most trusted publicity

agents of Germany, from whose pen emanated much of the most insidious peace propaganda, which Germany had been sending its press agents in France and other countries. Stationed in Switzerland, Professor Ersberg kept in constant touch with Berlin.

When these documents fell into the hands of French officials in Clemenceau's investigation of the Great Conspiracy, Caillaux was asked for an explanation. In a statement before Captain Bouchardon, the ex-Premier said:

"Some time after the attempts of Lipscher to talk with me, a gentleman asked me for an appointment by telephone. He told me that he was a prominent Swiss merchant and wished to speak to me about some economic questions relating to France.

"I granted the appointment. The man came to my home. But he had hardly entered my cabinet, when he handed me an envelope containing the two bits of paper, which are the ones seized in my deposit box. I at once told the visitor to leave my house."

"Why did you not immediately arrest the man who came to your house to take Lipscher's place?" questioned Captain Bouchardon.

"Arrest him?" repeated Caillaux, as if astonished at the impudence of such a thought. "Have him arrested at once? How could I have done that?"

It was a typical Caillaux answer.

CHAPTER XII

How the Bonnet Rouge Betrayed Roumania

Almereyda Gets Secret Government Reports Revealing Weakness of General Sarrail's Army at Salonika—Has Copies Made in Newspaper Office—He and Marion Go to Spain—German U-Boat Lies in Wait at Carthagina—Germany Attacks Roumania Without Fear of Allied Assistance—Roumania Is Lost

Caillaux's connections with Marx, the enemy paymaster, however, were not discovered until the *Bonnet Rouge* gang had been operating a German spy clearing house in the heart of Paris for at least three years.

If Caillaux cautioned Duval that the *Bonnet Rouge* had grown too bold, his warnings were of no avail. The office of the newspaper became more and more the headquarters of enemy agents, whose operations extended into nearly every other European country and even to America. Almereyda made almost as many trips to Spain as Duval did to Switzerland. During July and August, 1916, Marion voyaged to the United States. According to the records of the Paris police, he tried to obtain the aid of Henry Ford in an international peace movement.

In Spain the Germans were becoming more and more active. They were establishing various espionage and propaganda centers, buying Spanish newspapers, starting new ones, and everywhere they were preaching the same gospel of a false peace. Spain also proved to be an especially good asylum for spies, who learned that after their operations in

France they could cross the Pyrenees easier than the Alps, or still better they could report to German submarines skulking along the Spanish coast. At Carthegena the U boats found a particularly convenient rendezvous.

During the first half of 1916 Germany was anxiously watching Roumania. The court at Bucharest was honeycombed with German agents following every development. German engineers in various disguises were measuring roads and bridges and mapping out all other lines of communication in Roumania, so that German armies might strike a sure blow as soon as the Roumanians declared war on the side of the Allies.

In France also the Berlin spy system was at work just as assiduously. In France the particular purpose of Germany's inquiry was to learn what aid in case of war Roumania could get from the Entente. At Salonika an army had been organied by the Allies for operations in the Balkans, and Germany was using every means to learn just how these troops were being reinforced and equipped, and what they would be able to do.

At the head of the French army at Salonika was General Sarrail, the friend of Caillaux. According to Caillaux's plans for a *coup d' état* General Sarrail was to have become his Commander-in-Chief.

In the spring of 1916, M. Paix-Seailles, a sergeant in the French army, received from Captain Mathieu, who had been stationed in the Orient, a bundle of letters giving detailed information concerning the strength and resources of the forces commanded by General Sarrail. Some of the letters contained secret military reports for transmission to the Ministry of War in Paris. Other papers included a communication from General Sarrail to M. Noulens, President of the Army Commission, and copies of two telegrams, one from the Premier to the French minister at Athens, for transmission to General Sarrail.

According to Léon Daudet, these papers were given to Malvy who passed them to Leymarie, his assistant, who passed them to Almereyda. After Paix-Seailles had been arrested he said that he had given them direct to Almereyda.

At all events they came into the possession of the Apache editor, who took them to the office of the *Bonnet Rouge*. What happened there is told by Mme. Lewis, the confidential stenographer of the inner office. Many months later she was called as a witness and testified as follows:

"One morning in June, 1916, M. Marion asked me to come into his office to copy some documents. He said that they were for the Minister of War. I remember that among other papers were three typewritten letters and a manuscript letter. M. Marion also said that he had need of these documents, because he intended to go on a journey. Mlle Louise Legendre will be able to testify to this, as she also remembers it." (Mlle. Legendre was another *Bonnet Rouge* stenographer. She corroborated Mme. Lewis in every particular.)

"Did you copy the documents?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember how many copies you made?"

"Three or four."

"You would be able to recognize them?"

"I have already identified them before Captain Bouchardon."

"Did M. Marion shut you up in a room?"

"Yes, he shut me up, but as soon as he went away, I came out and I said to the other stenographers: 'Marion has given me something to copy. He told me not to tell anybody.' "

The documents were laid before Mme. Lewis, and she said:

"Those are the papers I copied." (They included the official communications of General Sarrail mentioned above.)

"Did M. Marion say where he intended to go on that journey?" Mme. Lewis was asked.

"Yes, he said he was going to Spain that night."

When Marion was examined two years later and asked how he obtained the official documents of the War Department, he explained:

"Almereyda came to me and asked, 'Have you got a good stenographer?'

"I answered, 'Yes, Why?' "

" 'Well, here you are,' he said. 'I have a friend, also a newspaper collaborator, who has got hold of some letters of a very confidential nature concerning the military situation in Salonika. The writing of some of the letters is almost undecipherable. So the *Bonnet Rouge* stenographer will not copy them correctly, if she is not a good one. As you say yours is a capable girl, will you have her make some copies?' "

"I replied, 'Very well, I understand.' I did not know anything about the letters. I only took a superficial glance at them. You see, I was only asked to have them copied. Well, they were taken into my office. As it was quite a task, I asked my stenographer who usually worked in a place alongside of the telephone switch board to come into my office, that she might work without being distracted. She did the work in about two hours, and then I turned them back immediately to Almereyda."

"Did you know these papers contained military secrets?"

"Oh, no. I had not the slightest idea that they were secret documents."

"Nevertheless, you took various precautions. In the first place you put this stenographer in your own private office. You told her not to say anything about the matter to anyone, did you not?"

"Exactly, and I will tell you why. Almereyda said to me,

" 'These are not secret documents, but confidential letters. I intend to start a crusade in behalf of the army of Salonika,

and I would not wish that they fall into the hands of others who might use them before I do. Furthermore, I must have all these papers this afternoon, because I want to give the originals to the Minister of War and the copies to parlementarians.' "

"After the papers were copied, what did you do?"

"I took them to Almereyda immediately."

"But, is it not a fact that the next day, or the day after, you went with Almereyda to Spain?"

"It is possible that I took a trip the next day. You see, Almereyda said to me one day, that at the end of June or the beginning of July, 1916, the horse races begin at San Sebastian. Almereyda had an idea of starting a sporting paper in Spain. He said, 'I do not know if I will do it, but if you will come with me, and I decide to do it, you will have the administrative work of it, the buying of the paper and handling the printing of it.'

"I ought to say that Almereyda told me to get a letter of recommendation to M. Merquet, the lessee of the Casino at San Sebastan, and also proprietor of the race track. Almereyda also spoke of a letter to M. Harmes or Hermes, who was, I believe, the French consul at San Sebastian. We arrived at San Sebastian on a Monday or a Tuesday about noon. We at once tried to see M. Marquet, but learned that he was in Madrid. So we returned to Paris."

Such was the story told by Marion, when finally caught in the trap. But during the two years immediately following this amazing performance, although he had made copies of the war secrets of France, for which Germany would have paid millions, and turned them over to the criminal associate of Malvy and Caillaux, Marion continued to walk the streets of Paris, and to travel about France on various other secret missions without the slightest molestation.

Although Marion, in his defense, said he went no further on this trip than San Sebastian, Almereyda was found to

have continued as far as Carthegena, where a German U-boat had just arrived. Many months later secret agents of the Allies in Switzerland and other neutral countries, who were shadowing Germany's agents and in many instances working with them under various disguises, reported that Berlin had learned everything about the French army at Salonika. They said that when Roumania entered the war on August 27, 1916, the German General Staff mapped out a counter campaign, which was based in part upon the very documents, which were stolen by the *Bonnet Rouge* gang.

From the official records of the Third Counsel of War in Paris, it can now be stated that these documents contained the following information concerning General Sarrail's army:

"Great scarcity of effectives.

"Lack of training and cöordination.

"Insufficient provisions and equipment.

"Inability to continue a campaign far from the sea coast.

"Inability to do more than hold Bulgaria."

Accordingly, the German war preparations against Roumania practically ignored Allied assistance. What happened to this unfortunate country is well told in the following passages from Marsh's "History of the World War":

"And the worst fell upon hapless Roumania. A vast force of military engineers moving like a human screen in front of von Mackensen's army followed routes carefully mapped out by German spies during the period of Roumania's neutrality. Military bridges, measured to the inch, had been prepared to carry cannon, material and men over streams and ravines. Every Roumanian oil well, mine and store house had been located and mapped. German scientists had studied Roumanian weather conditions and von Mackensen attacked while the roads were at their best and the weather most favorable.

"As the Germans swept forward, spies met them and gave

them military information of the utmost value. A swarm of airplanes reported the movements of the Roumanians and no Roumanian airplanes rose to meet them.

"General von Falkenhayn, cöoperating with von Mackensen, smashed his way through Vulkan pass, and cut the main line running to Bucharest at Craiova. The Dobrudja region was overrun and the central Rumanian plain was swept clear of all Roumanian opposition to the German advance. The seat of government was transferred from Bucharest to Jassy on November 28, 1916, and on December 6, Bucharest was entered by von Mackensen, definitely putting an end to Roumania, as a factor in the war.

"The immediate result of the fall of Roumania was to release immense stores of petroleum for German use. British and Roumanian engineers had done their utmost by the use of explosives to make useless the great Roumanian oil wells, but German engineers soon had the precious fluid in full flow. This furnished the fuel which Germany had long and ardently desired.

"The oil burning submarine now came into its own. It was possible to plan a great fleet of submersibles to attempt execution of von Tirpitz's plan for unrestricted submarine warfare. This was decided upon by the German High Command the day Bucharest fell. It was realized that such a policy would bring the United States into the war, but the Kaiser and his advisers hoped the submarine and a great western front offensive would force a decision in favor of Germany before America could get ready."

In Lt. Mornet's indictment of Marion following his arrest in 1918, which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter XIX, and which is now on file among the other papers of the Third Council of War, there may be found the following passages:

"Marion had his typist make four copies of these documents just before he was about to make a trip to Spain. Of course there is no proof that Marion communicated these

documents to the enemy. But, it is a fact that one month or six weeks before unfortunate Roumania's entry into the war, some information of this character was furnished the Bulgarian army. We were, at that time, utterly unable to do anything to help our ally."

Duval was in Switzerland on July 8, and it has been alleged that he turned over another copy of these documents to Marx. In a deposition before Captain Bouchardon, Léon Daudet said:

"Secret documents concerning the armies of the Orient were passed by M. Malvy to M. Leymarie, and from the latter to M. Paix-Seailles, who passed them to Almereyda. These papers gave the reasons why an offensive by the Allied armies at Salonika was at that time impossible. Almereyda acted immediately and he communicated the information through Duval to Marx of Mannheim, who sent it to Berlin, which transmitted it to the Bulgarians, who without fear of being attacked by General Sarrail pounced down upon the Roumanians. The sad result we all know."

The entire plot of giving Germany the Salonika army secrets might have been fully uncovered in 1916, had it not been for Malvy. Here again we find the chief lieutenant of Caillaux standing like a shield in front of the conspirators, with the result that they continued to use every possible means to weaken France and aid the enemy.

The frequent trips of the *Bonnet Rouge* gang to other countries together with stories that it was in communication with the foe were brought to the atteniton of Premier Briand early in 1916. M. Briand was too busy to make an investigation himself, and accordingly he delegated the task to Malvy. Here is Premier Briand's statement:

"At the beginning of 1916 I discovered a positive change in the orientation of the *Bonnet Rouge*. I at once sent for M. Malvy and said, 'I do not know the relations which the Minister of the Interior may have with the *Bonnet Rouge*,

but I give you a warning, that if it persists in continuing as at present, I shall take it under surveillance and treat it with severity. The censorship has strict orders. It will be watched, suspended and probably suppressed, if it does not change its attitude."

Malvy said that he would look into the matter at once. He said later that he stopped the government subsidy of the *Bonnet Rouge* in February, 1916. But that was only a few weeks before the German gold began to flow into the newspaper through Marx and Duval.

In June, 1916, about the time that Almereyda and Marion made copies of General Sarrail's papers and took a trip to Spain, Premier Briand again became suspicious. He had learned that Almereyda was in Carthegena and Bilboa at a time when a German U-boat was lying off the Spanish shore. Again he called in Malvy and asked for an explanation. Malvy promised a most searching inquiry. Concerning this incident Premier Briand was questioned two years later, and he replied:

"I invited the Minister of the Interior to watch the people connected with the paper and particularly the trips, they made abroad. I think I even gave M. Laurent (Prefect of Police in Paris) strict instructions that no passports be given except for good reasons."

As the issuance of all passports came immediately within the control of Malvy, he could have put an instant stop to the various lines of communication which the *Bonnet Rouge* had established with the enemy, had he so desired.

No person can leave France without making application to the prefect of the district. All the prefects are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Minister of the Interior.

Again Malvy promised Briand he would make the most searching investigation of the *Bonnet Rouge*, of Almereyda, of Duval and all the rest. And what happened?

M. Dumas, Chief of the General Information Bureau of

the Prefecture of Police, was told to investigate Almereyda. M. Dumas was the kind of a subordinate, whose conscienciousness and thoroughness sometimes get superiors into trouble. M. Dumas became greatly interested in Almereyda's career. The more he digged into the Apache's life, the more he delighted in digging still deeper. After a great deal of labor, M. Dumas rendered the following report to the Minister of the Interior:

"Vigo or Almereyda was born in Beziers, on January 5, 1883, and came to Paris in 1899. He soon became a thief. Finally, he was caught in a robbery, and sent to prison. He left prison at the age of 18 an anarchist."

The crimes of Almereyda from that time on which were enumerated by Dumas, constitute much the same list, as was mentioned in Chapter II. The investigator then continued:

"Almereyda became a photographer, but he soon quit that business. He devoted himself wholly to revolutionary propaganda. He became secretary of the editorial staff of *Libertaire*. He was delegate in 1904 to the anarchist congress in Amsterdam, and one of the signers of the famous antimilitaristic poster, entitled, 'To the Soldiers,' which also had the signature of Gustave Hervé. With Hervé he founded *Guerre Sociale* (Social War), of which until 1913 he was the secretary of the editorial staff.

"During the legislative elections of 1910, he founded a the rabid *Groupe Antiparlementaire* (Antiparlementarian Group) and became very active in the XVIIIth arrondissement. He created the 'Association of the Young Revolutionary Guards' for the purpose of breaking up the meetings of rivals.

"In 1912 he gave his support to the Unified Socialist Party, and the following year he left *Guerre Sociale* to enter the *Courrier Européen* (European Courier) of Paix-Seailles, (who later gave him the army secrets of General

Sarrail) and finally on November 23, 1913, he founded the *Bonnet Rouge*, thanks to the financial help of M. Caillaux.

"Here is to be found the second political evolution of Almereyda, who became a Radical Socialist (the same as Caillaux), as director of the *Bonnet Rouge*. This change of opinion had its effect even on the personality of Almereyda. Until then he was always hard up and seedy looking. He now became more elegant. He began to frequent the expensive establishments of the grand boulevards, where he entered into relations with shady financiers, journalists lying in wait for scandals, and certain individuals, who by various underhand means establish connections between captains of high finance and politicians.

"Nevertheless, until April, 1915, he maintained only a modest home, at a rental of only 500 francs.

"However, by the end of June, 1915, he established himself in a furnished apartment at No. 51 Rue Spontini, at a monthly rental of 740 francs, where he lived for several months with two mistresses, one named Claro Emilie, the other, Berni Leonie, also known as Emilienne Brévannes, who was born in 1895 at Poissy. Although she had had relations with Almereyda since January, 1915, Emilienne Brévannes has kept her former apartment at No. 50 Rue Condorcet, at an annual rental of 500 francs.

"Since the month of April, 1917, Almereyda has advertised his wealth in most insolent fashion. He installed Mlle. Berni at No. 24 Boulevard des Capucines, in an apartment for which he pays 600 francs a month. He also leases a villa at No. 14 Rue Gustav Latour, St. Cloud, which costs him 10,000 francs a year. He has also bought an estate at Juan les Pins, in the Maritime Alps.

"He is buying all kinds of luxuries. For example on one occasion he bought some jewelry for the Berni girl, which cost 50,000 francs.

"Some attribute his sudden fortune to the largesses of

political friends, of financiers, of war contractors, who might have recourse under diverse covers to the services of Almereyda. Others call special attention to the evolution of the *Bonnet Rouge*, which has changed its note and has joined the minority socialists, of the Kienthal shade, almost as much as letting it be known that the money, which he dispenses so extravagantly, comes from Germany.

"It is said in some newspaper offices that Almereyda may have received large commissions by acting as an intermediary between the sub-secretary of munitions and M. Raffalovitch, secretary general of the Bank of Commerce of Petrograd, who has charge of military supplies."

The report of M. Dumas spoke also of Almereyda's associates, Goldsky, Marion, Jacques Lathuille, who peddled betting tips at the race track, and who in 1904 became editor of the *Radical*, from which he was afterward discharged; Alexandre Raffalovitch, Rabbat, a convicted swindler, who has been associated with the famous Zucco in various enterprises; Napoleon Poggiale, lessee of a gambling house many times condemned for violating Article 210 of the Penal Code; Bontempi, called Bontemps, former editor of *Libertaire*, and four times convicted; Sophie Franckel, a woman, who had a house of ill repute at No. 17 Rue de Hamburg, and Mme. Stourmier, a mid-wife, who sold narcotics. Dumas also said:

"Almereyda tried to induce men of standing to carry letters which the pacifists did not wish to trust to the mails. Almereyda undertook to furnish them with the necessary papers and passports.

"Among the persons supposed to have accomplished a mission of this sort was Henri Guilbeaux. He is said to have come to Paris twice with papers. This same man facilitated the escape of Gilbert, the aviator, when he made two visits to Switzerland.

"By an indirect route, but quite a sure one, it is further known that Marion, the administrator of the *Bonnet Rouge*,

went to Detroit, U. S., to obtain the financial assistance of M. Ford, M. Archdeacon and other persons, more or less interested in the international movement for peace.

(E. G. Liebold, secretary of Henry Ford, in reply to an inquiry regarding Marion's trip said: "Mr. Ford does not recall ever having met the parties mentioned and we assume therefore their intended mission was not carried out.")

"Towards the 15th of June, Almereyda's valet, called Rafael, received a telegram from Spain, calling him to the bedside of his father. Two days later, Almereyda, who was preparing to join his mistress, who was spending her season at Dole, at the home of the under-prefect of the town, received a telegram from Spain also. He immediately asked for a passport, which he obtained on June 20, 1916. Its number was 11704. According to his friends, Almereyda went to Carthegena with a Harry Thomas.

"On June 21, the day after Almereyda left Paris, the German submarine, U 35, entered the port of Carthegena for a sojourn and the director of the *Bonnet Rouge* is reported to have remained near."

And what did Malvy do with this report? The answer may be found in the following statement of Dumas, which later became a court record:

"On September 7, 1916, I was called to the office of the Minister of the Interior, and received by M. Malvy. He said: 'I have just read your report. There is nothing very much in it, nothing very much. I have just seen Almereyda. I have just seen the poor fellow. He came to my house, suffering, ill. I asked him some clever questions. He protested vigorously. He denied absolutely that his money came from such sources, as reported.'

"I was quite excited. I said to M. Malvy: 'Have you communicated my report to Almereyda? Have you told everything to him, Mr. Minister?'

" 'No, I just asked some cunning questions,' replied M.

Malvy. 'There are a lot of things to be verified, you know. As it is, your report does not prove much to me. To my questions Almereyda offered explanations. He said for instance that the automobiles, which he was driving, came from a garage, which he owned in the Boulevard Pereire, and that the money of which you speak had been furnished him by M. Boulet, a wine merchant, to indemnify him for a campaign in behalf of the wine trade. He said he had also received from M. Francfort 50,000 francs (excuse its being so little). He said he had secured an important order for M. Francfort from the Ministry of Munitions. No, there is nothing in your report of any consequence.' "

Dumas nevertheless made a second report on September 18, of which he said:

"My assertions were verified and proved absolutely correct. My second report confirmed my first report. I presented it to the office of the Prefect of Police, who doubtless transmitted it to M. Malvy. I never heard any more about it."

Poor Dumas.

His work was all for nought. Both his reports were pigeonholed in Malvy's desk.

CHAPTER XIII

Mme. Pozzoli's Tell Tale Diary

Reveals Caillaux's Conferences with Cavallini, Enemy Agent and Briber—The Luncheon at Larue's—Caillaux's Italian Journey—His Plans of a Latin Alliance—His Gospel of Dispair and Defeat—Yagghen, Another Oriental Pacifier

In the autumn of 1916, Caillaux thought he saw another opportunity to ascend to power. He believed that the Briand ministry was tottering. He thought he could stir up in Italy enough hatred toward England to create the Latin Alliance of which he had dreamed so long, an alliance that would later include Spain, and merge its interests with those of the Central Powers. This plan of course would result in throwing upon the British Empire the whole brunt of the war.

In October, 1916, Caillaux went to Italy and met his wife at Monti Cafini. From there they went to Florence and thence to Rome. Leaving his wife in Rome, he returned to Paris.

And now who should enter the scene but Cavallini, the Italian associate of ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi; Cavallini, the agent of Germany; Cavallini, who carried 1,000,000 francs of German bribe money to Bolo's Paris home. Behind Cavallini in this new plot was not only Abbas Hilmi but another oriental traitor, Yagghen Pacha, a cousin of the Khedive. Yagghen had married a Mme. Lussato, an Italian lady, and had made his home in Italy. Proof was later obtained by the Italian authorities, that Yagghen had spent about 1,000,000

francs in efforts to bribe Italian statesmen and the Italian press to advocate an immediate peace.

It was this same propaganda among the Italian troops which resulted in the Caporetto disaster in October, 1917, when the Italian line was broken by a great Austrian-German attack and thrown back toward the Piave.

On October 2, 1916, Cavallini and a woman, named Mme. Pozzoli, came to Paris and established themselves in a sumptuously furnished apartment. As it later developed, much to the mortification of all concerned, Mme. Pozzoli kept a diary. Within its little pages she loved to record all the petty happenings of the day, the dates of tea parties, the names of guests,—how they looked, what they said. Now and then she used abbreviations and various cryptic phrases, as if she did not dare trust everything to paper.

Cavallini and Mme. Pozzoli remained in Paris until November 22, 1916, and during that time the Italian visitor gave several dinners and luncheons, which might easily have convinced those of his guests who did not know his real mission, that he was the great financier, which he publicly pretended to be.

At one of these luncheons Cavallini met Caillaux. The guests were brought together in a private chamber in the famous Restaurant Larue in the Place de la Madeleine. According to a speech which Caillaux made more than a year later, on Dec. 22, 1917, in the Chamber of Deputies, Cavallini was introduced to him at Larue's by Loustalot, a fellow deputy. Caillaux's eleventh hour explanation was as follows:

"One day I met my old collague, Loustalot, in the Chamber of Deputies. He said he wanted me to take *déjeuner* with him and meet an Italian, who desired to talk banking. 'Very well,' I said, 'I will be glad to see him, although I am not a banker.'

"I went with M. Loustalot. I met M. Cavallini and several others. We all had *déjeuner* together. Our conversa-

tion was most desultory. We discussed politics for a while. The early accession of the Orlando ministry was predicted. There was talk of founding a newspaper in Rome, to be called the *Paris-Rome*, and I declared the scheme to be chimerical. Finally, I was consulted about the bank. They told me that the best names would be found in the board of directors—and that M. Salandra, former Premier of Italy, would head the list.

"I replied, 'Boards of Directors sound well, but what is wanted for a bank is business. Have you any customers, and who are they?' Some names were mentioned—the Genoa Tramways and the Anvaldo Company, both well known, and the Roman R. R. which is less known.

"I left the restaurant with the impression that I had been lunching with a particularly interesting man. A few days later, Loustalot came to me again and said:

" 'M. Cavallini is returning to Rome, where your wife is. Do you wish to give him a note to her?' I answered:

" 'No, I will write my wife that M. Cavallini will call to see her. She will receive him, if she thinks it advisable to do so. But I promise nothing, because she wishes to preserve the strictest incognito.

"I wrote Mme. Caillaux, as follows: 'Here is a person introduced to me by my friend Loustalot, in whom I have the fullest confidence. I have no further information about him. If you can get any, do so. At any rate do not receive him, if you have any objection.' "

Whether or not Caillaux and Cavallini talked about banking or a separate peace, they established a relationship at the Larue luncheon, which soon became exceedingly intimate.

The diary of Mme. Pozzoli, which the Italian police seized many months later, showed that she and Cavallini went to visit Mme. Caillaux, as soon as they reached the Italian capital, and that Mme. Caillaux accepted their friendship. Nearly every day Mme. Caillaux called upon Cavallini and

Mme. Pozzoli or they visited her. Finally, when M. Caillaux, himself, arrived in Rome, Cavallini and the Pozzoli woman gave M. and Mme. Caillaux a special reception. The story is told in Mme. Pozzoli's diary, as follows:

"December 2, . . . Philippe (Cavallini) returns. . . ."

"December 3, . . . after luncheon, visit to Mme. C's." (Mme. Caillaux.)

"December 4, . . . invitation to dinner from Henriette C." (Mme. Caillaux's maiden name was Henriette Raynouard.)

"December 7, . . . gave dinner to Mme. C., where are present also the Prince Sciarra, Ricardi and others."

"December 9, . . . we all go to see the film, Christus. . . ."

"December 11, . . . arrival and reception for M. Caillaux."

"December 13,. . . promenade at Frascati with the Caillaux couple. . . ."

"December 15, . . . dinner to the Caillaux couple. . . ."

"December 17—Luncheon at Castello di Cesari with Caillaux and Riccardi. . . ."

"December 18, . . . departure of M. Caillaux for Naples."

Between December 18, 1916, and January 5, 1917, Caillaux was in Naples and elsewhere in Italy pleading with various Italian statesmen and financiers to work for an immediate peace. Meantime Cavallini confered with Loustalot, Abbas Hilmi and Yagghen Pacha in various places of rendezvous. After this interval, Mme. Pozzoli's diary continues:

January 5, 1917, Caillaux arrived in Rome 2 p. m. Wife joined him by following train. Cavallini invited Caillaux couple to dinner at the Valiani.

January 6, Caillaux couple have dinner at the apartments of Mme. Pozzoli.

January 7, Caillaux couple have dinner at San Carlo with Mme. Pozzoli. At 10 p. m. Caillaux left Rome for Paris.

Mme. Caillaux remained behind in Italy until February 4. She continued to live at the Hotel de Russie, where Mme. Pozzoli was also to be seen almost daily, going and coming from the Caillaux apartments.

Caillaux had made this propagandist trip to Italy, with such secrecy that even his most intimate friends in Paris knew nothing of it. His passport had been made out in the name of Joseph Raynouard.

Having arrived in Rome and established connections with Cavallini, Bolo's paymaster, Caillaux began the most vigorous campaign for a separate peace between Italy and France on the one hand and Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the other. In this connection it should be remembered that Italy did not formally declare war on Germany until August 28, 1916, or only four months before Caillaux's visit.

Caillaux talked with as many of the most influential Italian statesmen, as he thought he could convert, and said that France was almost bled to death, that Germany could not be conquered, that the only salvation for either France or Italy was peace.

Proof that Caillaux's Italian trip was one of his most daring efforts to disrupt the Entente has been obtained from Signor Ferdinando Martini, formerly a minister in the cabinet of Salandra, who had a long interview with Caillaux. In a sworn statement, which he made at the treason trial of Cavallini in Rome, Martini completely unmasked Caillaux. An English translation of Signor Martini's deposition made by Walter Littlefield of the *New York Times* with various bracketed notes by Mr. Littlefield, that are especially illuminating and instructive, reads as follows:

"Dec. 17, 1916.—I have just left Caillaux after my inter-

view and I would not miss a moment before setting it down. The subject first taken was, quite naturally, the overture from Germany. [Note from Germany and her allies dated Dec. 12 offering to enter peace negotiations.] We agreed that to end the matter by refusing to negotiate would constitute a rather serious political blunder—if any reply were made at all.

"He [Caillaux] expressed himself as believing that the moment for peace had not yet arrived, and that a final effort would be made in the Spring [Nivelle's offensive in Champagne], but that it would be to indulge in the most fatal illusions to imagine that the war could last until the Autumn of next year.

"France [Caillaux said] had already lost 1,500,000 men—1,100,000 dead and 400,000 mutilated or so seriously wounded as to be incapable of following any profession or trade whatever. Nobody, broadly speaking, believed that the Germans could be driven out of the ten departments they occupied; the resources in men remaining to France were the 1917 class, numbering 200,000 men, and the 1918 class, making 150,000 men more. They would only suffice to fill up the gaps caused by losses, and France, therefore, could put on the front not more than 2,500,000 men, possibly not so many.

"The spirit of the public was depressed, (déprimé) and the former enthusiasm among the soldiers was dead. He had received letters from soldiers whose homes were in his own constituency which left no doubt as to the state of mind of the troops, and those letters, like those received by others, ended with 'Down with the war!' and even 'Long live Brizon!' [Brizon was a Deputy who had been expelled from the Chamber for expressing defeatist sentiments.]

"He [Caillaux] said he knew Italy, and knew that the state of public feeling here was not very different from that in France, although it was perhaps different among the sol-

diers, because Italy had been a year less in the war than France.

"I informed Caillaux that it had been reported that Germany was inclined to make concessions to the noninsular Western powers—France and Italy—and that there were even persons who asserted that the crisis then existing in the Austrian Government was due to this fact, as Körber [Dr. von Körber, Austrian Premier, who that very day—Dec. 17, 1916—had been succeeded by Herr von Spitzmuller] had resigned because he would not assume the responibility for the territorial concessions to be made to Italy.

"Caillaux knew nothing of these reports, but thought he ought to take them into consideration, and he asserted that he also believed that both Germany and Austria, the latter being entirely dominated by the former, were disposed to make concessions to Italy and France. As to France, he said he believed that peace could be made on very simple conditions—namely, the evacuation of the occupied departments and the cession of a part of Lorraine, and perhaps even without the latter.

" 'And do you not fear,' I asked, 'that they will ask you to surrender Morocco?'

" 'We could not give it up at any price,' he responded. 'We could not have Germany in a position to stab us in the back. Germany understands this and will not press her demands so far as that. She is not in a very good position herself, and her proposals are certainly owing to her own condition and the famine which threatens her.'

" 'But do you really think that France would make peace under the conditions you mention?'

"She could not [said Caillaux] do anything else. Our output of munitions has gone down through lack of raw materials. And there are two facts of special importance concerning which you are in ignorance—Algeria is teeming with revolution and so is Senegal. The Prefect of—(Caillaux

mentioned the name of the place, but I have forgotten it) has been murdered. A detachment of soldiers sent to put down the revolt has been surrounded and massacred. All this because we committed the monstrous blunder of imposing conscription on the Arabs.

"Add to this the work of the Socialists, less important than in Italy, but still, effective, and the hatred of the peasants for the war.

'I repeat [said Caillaux] that we cannot do anything more, and that peace which would be premature today will inevitably be necessary in the Autumn. To this must be joined the fact that in the Autumn, owing to the losses which the Spring will cost us, we risk having in France a British army numerically superior to our own, and that we can not and do not want.

"For many other reasons Caillaux saw an obvious necessity —that France and Italy must be united by indissoluble bonds of sincere friendship and unshakable solidarity, both now and after the war, and he urged that it was desirable to bring Spain into the Latin League.

" 'Spain is pro-German,' I remarked. 'The King of Spain has stated: "Those favorable to the Entente in Spain comprise only myself and the rabble." '

" 'I have it,' Caillaux replied. 'I have expressed one wish: The all-important thing is a close and loyal union of our two countries. We shall easily come to an agreement, even in regard to customs questions. We produce commodities that Italy does not, and Italy produces commodities that we do not. There are only two real questions, two common products—silk and wine. These are not insoluble problems when paramount interests demand their solution.'

" 'That is all very well,' I rejoined, 'but let us come back to the question of peace. What about England? We are bound to England by the Pact of London.' [The Treaty of London signed April 26, 1915, by England, France, Italy,

and Russia, according to the terms of which Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary on the 23d of the following May.)

"England, [said Caillaux,] when she has obtained the reconstruction of Belgium, will accommodate herself to making peace. The submarines are destroying her merchant marine. Moreover, among the English people also there are many, even innumerable, opponents of the war. I do not overlook the fact, however, that if Germany demands the return of her colonies England neither would nor could consent."

" 'And Russia?'

"Russia [said Caillaux] will have to pay. She has lost Poland. As to giving her Constantinople, would either you or ourselves agree to that? [This was before the Russian revolution, March 14, 1917, and the Bolshevist coup d'état, Nov. 7, 1917.]

" 'We have promised it to her.'

"That promise is older than you think," said Caillaux. "It was made by M. Poincaré when he went to Petrograd as Premier. He aimed at becoming President of the Republic, and, to insure his success, he wanted the votes of the Right in the Chamber. M. Isvolsky, the Russian Ambassador at Paris, had the power of securing these votes for him. I need not say anything more."

[Note—A highly placed French political personage, fully acquainted with all the negotiations before and during the war, has declared the statement in regard to President Poincaré to be groundless. The assertion had been spread broadcast in the Chamber during the first years of the war. "It was the work of M. Caillaux," says *Le Matin*, "who carried on a systematic campaign against the President of the Republic. M. Poincaré never at any time promised Constantinople to Russia but supported a contrary policy when he was at the Quai d'Orsay. The Foreign Affairs Commissions of the two Chambers have long ago been well informed on the

subject, and not one word of truth remained in this assertion of M. Caillaux."]

" 'Referring to M. Poincaré,' I asked, "is it true that he is unpopular in France?' "

"Unpopular?" [said Caillaux,] "Say, rather, detested."

" 'And what do you forsee in regard to the Ministerial situation?'

"I foresee a coming crisis. Briand (then Premier) has lost all authority. He is not a man who looks far ahead. He looks for momentary, immediate successes and does not bother about anything else. It was he more than anybody who pushed Roumania into the conflict without taking into consideration the necessary help, in the absence of which it was easy to foresee all that has happened. This time also he has sought Parliamentary success without considering the consequences of his false and premature steps.

"If Briand fails France has only three possible Premiers—Clemenceau, Caillaux, and Barthou. Barthou is practically impossible, because he has thrown himself into the arms of the reactionary Clericals. During the first year of the war the Clericals appeared likely to enable Barthou to triumph. At the beginning of the present year these forces began to decline, and for some months have become very weak, and are now certainly impotent.

"Not Barthou, therefore. For Caillaux the time is not yet come. There remains only Clemenceau." [Mr. Clemenceau became Premier Nov. 13, 1917.]

" 'But is it possible to reconcile Clemenceau as Premier with Poincaré as President of the Republic?'

"That is precisely the question which must be asked, [said Caillaux.] If things turn out as appears likely, either Clemenceau or Poincaré will go. For this reason I doubt whether the next Ministry will be a Clemenceau Cabinet, and for want of anything better we shall have a Painlevé Cabinet, [M. Painlevé became Premier in September, Ribot having suc-

ceeded M. Briand in the preceding March,] with a program of war to the death, which will make the great Spring offensive, after which will come the Ministry which will make the arrangement for peace.

"As I remained silent for some minutes after this declaration, Caillaux asked me what I was thinking about.

" 'About your certitude as to peace—England—Russia.'

"I repeat, [said Caillaux.] England will consent. Lloyd George will make another great effort. Asquith is in reserve, watching events. As to Russia, she will turn herself toward Asia when she has conquered the revolution, which everybody, including the Russian Government, expects. In any case, nobody can be asked to do the impossible.

"We are exhausted, and nobody can insist on our continuing the struggle when we lack men and materials, and the only result will be useless massacres."

Caillaux finally became so bold in his pacifist propaganda in Italy, that M. Camille Barrère, the French Ambassador at Rome, deemed it his duty to make a special report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris. Some of Caillaux's statements to the Italians were found to be so anti-English, so pro-German, so pregnant with defeatism of the most perfidious sort, that the embassies of all the Allies at Rome were notified. As a result Italy was about to ask him to leave the country, when suddenly he learned that his operations had become known to the French government, and hurried home.

After Caillaux was safely back in Paris, the French foreign office obtained fuller reports concerning Yagghen Pacha, the oriental associate of Cavallini. Yagghen had been arrested in Italy, but released because of protests that his territorial rights had been violated. Among the papers of Yagghen, was the copy of a letter to Cavillini, saying:

"Briefly speaking, we must do here the work which should have been done in France. We have all the necessary elements, and will be able to provoke demonstrations in all cities."

CHAPTER XIV

Caught

The Bonnet Rouge Gets Money from Marx by New Route—The Handy Vercasson—Malvy Keeps Censor at Bay—Goldsky, Bolshevik Editor, in Malvy's Office—The Omniscient "Gen. N."—Duval's New Brood of Reptiles—Duval's Last Trip to Switzerland—The Fatal 150,000 *Frame Check—Barrès Unclosets a Ghost Which Points at Malvy*

Before Duval obtained the renewal of his passport, the *Bonnet Rouge* was forced to find another channel between its vaults and the vaults of Marx in Switzerland. The money had to be obtained someway. Not only were the expenses of the *Bonnet Rouge* increasing, but plans had been made for other defeatist newspapers to be published from the *Bonnet Rouge* presses. Debts were piling up fast.

To fill the breach Duval and Marion brought in M. Vercasson, a printer, for whom Marion had done some business favors, and whom Marion had introduced to Duval. Vercasson made a specialty of advertising placards and after Duval began to build up the circulation of the *Bonnet Rouge* he had need of Vercasson's posters.

One day during *déjeuner*, while Duval and Vercasson were following the ancient Parisien custom of eating and doing business at the same time, Duval poured out a fresh glass of red wine, and said:

"Vercasson, I wish you would go to Switzerland for me and get some money. I am too busy to go myself."

The printer asked for more details, and Duval told him of the San Stefano Company and its liquidation. The money was to re-emburse French stock holders, he said.

Although a law had been passed making it a crime for a Frenchman even to talk with a German regarding any kind of business, and everyone knew that the San Stefano had been controlled by German capitalists, Vercasson accepted the mission. He made four trips to Geneva, and brought back 470,738 francs all told for the business manager of the *Bonnet Rouge.*

Just how Vercasson got the money in Geneva is still something a mystery. There have been several explanations. Vercasson said in the witness chair many months later that he used to go to the International Hotel with a pass word for Mme. Amherd, the proprietress. Thereupon, he would receive a package of franc notes, which we would deposit and for which he would obtain a check on a Paris bank.

"I did not think there was anything wrong in what I did," Vercasson said. "Let me tell you, for example, of my first trip. I reached Geneva on the evening of September 27, 1916. I went to the Hotel International and asked for Mme. Amherd. Duval had told me that he himself always stopped at the Hotel International, and that frequently he had money in Mme. Amherd's keeping. I gave Mme. Amherd the password, which Duval had given me, and she said:

" 'Do you want the money now?'

" 'Tomorrow morning will be better,' I replied. 'I can't deposit it in a bank tonight, and I do not care to keep a lot of money in my room.'

"So in the morning, she landed me a package, containing 35,000 francs. I gave her a receipt. Then I asked M. Bois, a friend of mine, to accompany me to a bank. I had no trouble. I obtained a check payable on the *Crédit du Nord,* Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris. I cashed the check in Paris and then turned over the money in full to Duval. I made

three other trips to Switzerland, and each time I brought back money to Duval in the same way. Altogether I got 470,738 francs."

The exact dates and the amounts of these checks, as learned by an investigation of bank books in France and Switzerland by the Clemenceau government, are as follows:

September 29, 1916	35,000 francs
November 8, 1916	80,000 francs
November 10, 1916	19,000 francs
December 23, 1916	171,757 francs
February 17, 1917	164,981 francs
	470,738 francs

Meantime the *Bonnet Rouge* was pushing the German defeatist propaganda with ever increasing vigor. It sometimes ran afoul of the censor, but when it did Alemeryda would invoke the power of Malvy to intercede in his behalf. If necessary Malvy appealed even to the Premier, as shown in the following memorandum from the Ministry of the Interior to the censor:

June 10, 1916.

The Cabinet of the Minister of the Interior, M. Truchon, Chief Assistant, brings to the attention of the officer on duty the information that the Minister of the Interior in accord with the President of the Council (Premier Briand) has decided to allow the *Bonnet Rouge* to re-appear today, upon the satisfactory assurances given by Almereyda.

Countersigned
MALVY.

Around Almereyda, Duval and Marion there now revolved an ever increasing number of satillites, editors and reporters, who were willing, in return for more than ordinary salaries, to join in the nefarious propaganda, paid for by Marx.

Chief among these lesser lights was Goldsky, whose real name was Goldschild, a bosom friend of Guilbeaux and

d'Hartmas, lieutenants of Lenine. Goldsky was of the same Bolshevik type, as may be seen any evening on the East Side of New York, perched on a soap box and haranging the crowd on the iniquities of capitalism and the imperative need of a complete social cataclism, from which the proletariat will rise supreme.

Goldsky, like Almereyda and Marion, had a criminal record. He had been twice condemned by the Court of Assizes of the Seine for inciting murder and military disobedience.

And yet this man was made another connecting link between the *Bonnet Rouge* and Malvy. Indeed, he was taken out of the army that he might obtain a position in Malvy's own office, and at the same time use a desk in the *Bonnet Rouge* to write Bolshevik articles, signed, "General N." The steps by which this foe of France was able to crawl through the law, like a rat through cheese, furnish a still clearer illustration of the weakening and corrupting influences that reached through various departments of the government to the very cabinet of the Prime Minister.

Goldsky belonged to the 1910 class which had been incorporated into the 22nd Section of Military Nurses on August 4, 1914. Later he had been attached to various units, as for example, "Sanitary Train, No. 14." For a time he was a division stretcher bearer. On October 27, 1915, he was sent back to his depot, and from January to July, 1916, he was a nurse in the hospital of the "Grand Palais."

Because of some underground influence, Jean Leymarie, Malvy's chief assistant, wrote a letter in Malvy's name to the Minister of War, on July 9, 1916, asking that Goldsky be transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. As a result, Goldsky was placed in the 20th Section of the Secretaries of the Staff, and instructed to hold himself at Malvy's disposal.

Everything seemed to have been nicely fixed, when on September 1, an order was suddenly issued shifting Goldsky back to the Ministry of War. The news caused special con-

sternation in the *Bonnet Rouge* office. Duval and Almereyda had a hurried conference, and Almereyda appealed to Malvy to bring Goldsky back. Almereyda's letter spoke of Goldsky, "as my most immediate collaborator, who has assumed, since his return from the front, the editorship of the *Bonnet Rouge*."

Ministerial orders, such as sent Goldsky back to the Ministry of War could be appealed to the "Bureau of Demurrers." Almereyda's petition in behalf of his Bolshevik collaborator was turned over to this bureau. To the petition was pinned this note:

"It is correct that demurrers have been granted in favor of newspapers. The last one, to my knowledge, was acceeded to upon the request of M. Charles Humbert, director of *Le Journal* in favor of M. Guérin."

Below the note was written this notation:

"No demurrer has been granted to editors, only to ordinary employees. It is not the same thing. In any case ask the Bureau of Demurrers."

The bureau held an inquiry, at which it was reported that the *Bonnet Rouge* had grown from a weekly to a daily newspaper since the war, that it had a rapidly growing circulation, that its importance was constantly becoming greater, that its staff of editors had been increased, and that the presence of M. Goldsky on its staff had been found most useful.

The Bureau of Demurrers granted the favor, and Goldsky went back to the Ministry of the Interior. From that time on he spent part of the day under Malvy, as a government official, having access to the secret archives of the police and detective bureaus; and during other hours he was counseling with Almereyda, Duval and Marion in schemes of perfidy and treason.

Besides seeking to arouse class hatred in France, while always pointing to the panacea of a Bolskevik state, "General N." devoted much of his time and energy also to a

crusade against American intervention in the war. He argued that America's support of the Allies would prolong the conflict indefinitely, that the list of French dead and wounded would be interminably lengthened, that the Germans could keep up the fight the same as ever, and that the only salvation for France was an immediate and separate peace.

In the *Bonnet Rouge* of February 16 1917, thirteen days after the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany, "General N." said that the Americans were going crazy. He congratulated the King of Spain for remaining neutral, and added:

"The views of this sincere friend of France, the King of Spain, are too elevated even to dream of entering a choir of lunatics."

"General N." also sought constantly to make the French believe that Germany was not wholly responsible for the war, that even France was much to blame. In a style, which betrayed the subtleness of Duval, "General N." tried to turn the French against themselves. The following article, printed Dec. 22, 1916, is typical:

"At Europe's Tribunal, we should know how to recognize our own wrongs also. The *Gazette of Frankfort* writes very judiciously that Europe was waging war even before the war. Several newspapers from the other side of the Rhine point out that the Entente is hypnotized by the past, when as a matter of fact only the future concerns us. We must admit this remark is correct.

"A Hamburg newspaper also points out and with the same degree of justice, that if we were to engage ourselves in a discussion of the responsibilities of the war—if we were to try to solve this question without taking any real, practical step towards peace—we will never obtain peace."

Behind the camouflage of "General N." Goldsky seemed to have completely forgotten his days as a nurse and

stretcher bearer. He wrote about army manoeuvers with supreme military authority. He always emphasized the point that Germany was invulnerable. On August 1, 1916, when the Germans were at St. Quentin, he wrote:

"Germany still has numerous reserves. Thus the French nation knows where it stands. It can appreciate how great are the sacrifices still to be expected of it, especially if told to hold out for the realization of uncertain and remote aims."

On December 4, 1916, he wrote:

"All the nations should know what they are fighting for, toward what realizations their chiefs are leading them. I should think that we have in France other aims than Constantinople and Cracovia. What are they?"

The new publications, which Duval planned for various circles of readers, who would not buy the *Bonnet Rouge* were assigned to Goldsky, Marion and Landau. Such journalistic tactics are not unknown in America. When a newspaper or a hotel gets a bad name, one means of salvation is to change its name. The constant attacks upon the *Bonnet Rouge* by Léon Daudet in *L'Action Française*, by Maurice Barrès in the *Echo de Paris;* and by many other journalists, compelled Almereyda and Duval to affect other masquerades.

Of this perfidious brood of newspapers, the *Republican Trench*, intended especially for the soldiers at the front, worked perhaps the greatest evil. It was founded by Goldsky and Landau with 10,000 francs furnished by Duval. Here are some of its utterances:

"The French people are not imbeciles, Messers. Ministers. Do you not hear that sound which is constantly growing louder, which is becoming so loud that it even begins to drown out the roar of battle, the sound of voices which ask for peace, which desire the olive branch of love rather than the laurels of hatred?"

Also:

"The Russian revolution is a revolution against not only

the Russian government, but all the other governments of Europe. The future alone is important. The only excuse for this war is that it will bring forth from all this disaster that beautiful flower, which the Russian call, the 'Soviet.'

"Let us be thankful, that on the dawn of the fourth year of the war it is possible to find men who will dare, speak, write, think and believe in the 'Soviet.'

"Glory to the 'Soviet,' to which we are indebted for the first victory since the war, a victory won by nations newly born."

The effect of such poison gas upon the soldiers is shown by the following letter from a *poilu* to the director of the *Republican Trench*, and finally seized by government inspectors in a raid on Landau's home.

"From the Orient Front, June 26, 1917.

"To the Director of the *Trenchée*:

"I had recently the pleasure of reading the first number of your interesting newspaper. Were I in France, I would subscribe to it, but in the Orient our letters and parcels are stolen from us. A good newspaper insisting on putting an end to the war would never reach me.

"You should have a good collaborator in Macedonia, because here our officers abuse us. I am one of those, who will soon have twenty-one months of the Orient in addition to fourteen months of French front, or altogether thirty-five months of wholesale butchery without a single minute of furlough. What a shameful existence is mine!

"The news from France of a lively revolution, which will liberate us from the sabre and reaction, is certainly reassuring.

"We are with you, brave journalists, and let us hope that we shall soon get all the drinkers of blood."

In addition to the *Republican Trench* there were the *French Telegram*, of which Goldsky was chief editor; and the *Nation* which Duval gave 30,000 francs, and of which Marion

was head. Boasting of the power of the *Bonnet Rouge* circle of publications, Goldsky wrote as follows on March 15, 1917:

"Around the *Bonnet Rouge* various organs of opinion have been born, each day more numerous, supporting and strengthening its position. Dolie founds *l'Agence Républicaine*, Marion takes charge of the publication of the *France Télégramme*. Landau is pushing the *Primo*. Next week, Clairet and Bontemps will bring out *Le Bloc*.. In the *Tranchée* I am ambushed.

"These agencies, these journals are for the *Bonnet Rouge*, what the torpedo fleet is for the cruisers. Altogether we continue to advance and with a light heart:"

Although the Russian Bolsheviks under Lenine and Trotsky did not overthrow the Kerensky government and seize Petrograd until Nov. 7, 1917, German propaganda seeking to arouse a sympathetic movement in France had been scattered broadcast through the French Republic by the *Bonnet Rouge* publications throughout the first half of 1917.

At Barcelona, Spain, a self styled French newspaper was founded with the same name as Lenine's Petrograd organ, *Truth*, which aided the Bolshevik campaign in France, and which also established a secret connection with the *Bonnet Rouge*.

This connection cost Duval 10,000 francs of Marx's money, and resulted in the *Truth's* support of Malvy and Caillaux. Some typical headlines from the Barcelona paper, which were cited by Clemenceau on September 3, 1917, to show the far reaching extent of Caillauxism and Bolshevism and how in some places they overlapped, read as follows:

"What Malvy ought to have replied to Clemenceau."

"The Decline of England."

"The Man of the Day, Caillaux."

The editor of Bonnet Rouge who established connections with the Truth of Barcelona was Joucla. His operations

were described long afterward at his trial by Lt. Mornet, his prosecutor in the following language:

"Joucla was a spy as well as a journalist.

"In the middle of the war he introduced himself to the German Consulate General at Barcelona upon presenting his card, as an editor of the *Bonnet Rouge*. He was received by a stout gentleman with gold eye glasses and blond hair, the Baron Roland, the German Consul General, himself. Joucla said he would like to locate a pro-German newspaper which had been started in Barcelona, and Baron Roland gave the visitor the address of the *Truth*."

Joucla also received from Duval 10,000 francs to organize a newspaper, called *Around the School*, which was to strengthen still further the *Bonnet Rouge's* "torpedo fleet."

At last Duval decided he would have to make another trip to Switzerland. He not only needed the Marx money, but the Marx approval of all his many enterprises. He wanted to make a report concerning his various successes, and if possible persuade Marx that the treason payments be greatly increased.

With Landau and Goldsky, Duval had a conference with Leymarie, chief director of Malvy's office. Duval told his old story about the liquidation of the San Stefano Company. Landau and Goldsky backed up Duval, and Leymarie with Malvy's sanction ordered the passport issued.

In Switzerland Duval made such a pleasant impression upon Marx, that his request for more money was graciously granted. Marx gave him a check for 150,000 francs, dated May 12, 1917, and said that many more checks of a much larger figure would be forthcoming. Duval had now received personally or through Vercassion 925.000 francs from Marx, as follows:

March 28, 1916....	To Duval.....	77,000 francs.
May 30, 1916.....	To Duval.....	78,000 francs.
July 8, 1916.....	To Duval.....	150,000 francs.
Sept. 29—1916 to—		
Feb. 17, 1917.....	To Vercasson.....	470,738 francs.
May 12, 1917.....	To Duval.....	150,000 francs.
		925,738 francs.

But Duval had made one trip too often. It was this 150,000 franc check, which caused the ruin of the whole *Bonnet Rouge* gang and the collapse of the Great Conspiracy. Just as Duval reached Bellegarde on the Swiss frontier on his return to Paris, a number of French officers surrounded him. One insisted on making a complete search of all his possessions. In the bottom of an inside pocket, they found the check.

"We will keep this," they said. "If you want it back, you can go to the Prefecture of Police, Paris."

A cog in Malvy's machine had gone loose. Despite Malvy's own promise, despite the personal intervention of Leymarie, despite Duval's reception at Caillaux's country home, he suddenly found himself jolted about like a common suspect, his pockets and valises rifled, and his 150,000 franc check gone.

When the news reached the *Bonnet Rouge* office, pandimonium broke loose. Goldsky and Landau ran in protest to Leymarie, and as soon as Duval reached Paris, they accompanied him to the Ministry of the Interior. Again Duval told his San Stefano story, and after some whisperings between Malvy and Leymarie, he got his check back.

But the seizure and restitution of the Duval check started too great a scandal to be hid. True, all the papers relating to the affair were ordered sealed and put away. Subordinates in the Ministry of the Interior, who knew Malvy's connections with the *Bonnet Rouge* were made to understand it was too delicate a situation to meddle with.

Indeed, the ghost of the Duval check might have remained indefinitely under lock and key, had not Maurice Barrès in the Chamber of Deputies on July 7, 1917 brought it forth in all its ghastliness and made it point its spectral hands at Malvy.

It happened to be at a time when the Minister of the Interior occupied the Tribune. He had been trying to justify the administration of his office. As if to defend Malvy, a socialist named Mayeras attempted to change the subject, by opening an attack on Barrès. Barrès ignored Mayeras, but turning full on Malvy he cried:

"Since my colleague has given me a chance to speak I will ask the Minister of the Interior what measures he is taking against the '*Bonnet Rouge*' gang? Why does he not have a certain '*Bonnet Rouge*' rascal arrested?"

Malvy's face turned white. He seemed to realize that from that moment the ghost, which stood before him, would never cease to haunt him.

Premier Ribot, noticing that the Chamber would not let the incident pass without more trouble, and that a scandal involving Malvy might overthrow his already unsteady cabinet, came to the rescue of his Minister of the Interior. The Premier explained that a check thought to be of suspicious origin, had been found in the pockets of a *Bonnet Rouge* editor on the Swiss frontier. The matter was being investigated, he said.

CHAPTER XV

The "Tiger" Leaps

Clemenceau Attacks Malvy in Senate—Accuses Him of Betraying France—Exposes Minister of Interior as Friend of Enemy Agents—Reveals an Apache, as Real Head of Police—Almereyda's Sudden Death—Was He murdered to Protect Others More Powerful?

Next day the patriot newspapers of Paris, which for years had been vainly pointing out the dangers of Malvy's inaction, concentrated all their fire again on the Minister of the Interior. They demanded the most searching investigation of all his dealings with pacifists, defeatists, anarchists and enemy agents.

"Let us know all the truth about Malvy and the '*Bonnet Rouge*,' cried Daudet in *l'Action Française*.

But these were only the first rumblings of the earthquake. The first real shock came on July 22, 1917, when Clemenceau, then a Senator, arose before his colleagues in the Palais du Luxembourg and openly accused Malvy of betraying France.

There had been a desultory discussion of an interpellation to M. Debierre regarding the administration of the Health Bureau. After several had spoken and M. Painlevé, Minister of War, was about to leave the Chamber, Clemenceau mounted the Tribune and said:

"We must put some order in this country."

There was an ominous ring in these words which arrested attention.

"The situation has become so grave, that some attention

must be taken," he continued. "The nation is beset with perils within, as well as without. Let us see what these dangers are."

Looking at Malvy, the "Tiger" measured his distance and prepared to spring. Malvy's face turned white.

"There is a notebook in the Ministry of the Interior, known as Carnet B," said Clemenceau. "It contains the names of anarchists and anti militarists, who should be watched at all times, and during mobilization, arrested.

"At the outbreak of the war, it was the duty of M. Malvy to have put this dangerous element where it could have done no harm. But M. Malvy did nothing. He consulted me about the matter at the time, but whatever may have been my advice, he took no official action. Instead, he permitted Almereyda to act for him in negociating with these people.

"And, who is Almereyda?"

Here Clemenceau read from police records a long list of crimes for which Almereyda had been convicted. It showed that the life of Malvy's associate had been one long chapter of violence and iniquity. Most of all it revealed him as the implacable enemy of government. Clemenceau read extracts from Almereyda's Rheims speech urging the people to fight enlistment in the army, and ending with the words: "Each fellow countrymen should be anti patriotic. It should make no difference whether he is a German or a Frenchman."

Clemenceau's four score years seemed to vibrate with all the vigor of early youth, as he pointed again toward Malvy and cried:

"Tell me. How is it that the author of such a speech has been able to find friendly access to all the departments of the Ministry of the Interior? I never saw the Carnet B, but it would be the dispair of both God and man, if Almereyda were not in it. However, Almereyda is in it, and Almereyda knows he is in it. He also knows that he rejoiced to see the man who now holds this book made Minister of the Interior."

Clemenceau spoke of a visit to the *Bonnet Rouge* office on

Oct.31, 1915. He said that Almereyda told of a conversation which Clemenceau reproduced as follows:

"Almereyda, 'What are you doing with the note book B?'

"Malvy, I am glad you spoke of that.'

"Almereyda, 'I will tell you what to do. 'Arrest no one.' "

Again pointing at Malvy, Clemenceau thundered: "And that was the order. Arrest no one."

The Senator told of other conversations between Almereyda and Malvy. One concerned a nest of anarchists, which Almereyda promised to visit within the next twenty four hours upon Malvy's promise that if Almereyda came back and said, "Nothing to fear", Malvy would take no action.

After reading more documents to prove his charges, Clemenceau continued:

"I am not prepared to condemn M. Malvy, simply for not having caused the arrest of everyone whose name was in the Carnet B. My criticism is that he should not have put it into a drawer and thrown the key into the Seine. I think the Carnet B should have been used to watch these men, to watch them very closely, and if any one of them, in spite of the promise of Almereyda, their worthy Ambassador, should, resume his old practices, then the amnesty should end. Such an individual should be seized. This M. Malvy has not done.

"Now, we come to the question of the documents, distributed by anarchists, pacifists, and other malcontents. We went before the Commission of the Army. M. Ribot and M. Malvy were there. I asked them for the monthly reports of the last six months relating to anti-patriotic propaganda. M. Ribot said we could have them. Well, I confess that as soon as he said, 'yes', I knew the next day he would say, 'no.' And sure enough, the following day, M. Ribot wrote us that he had seen the reports, but could not let us have them, because they contained names which could not be made public.

"I was quite surprised at this reply, because the Ministry of War furnishes us everyday with documents of much more

gravity, but of which the secrets never leave the Commission of the Army. Nevertheless, we finally obtained these papers.

(Clemenceau was President of the Army Commission.)

"I shall not divulge any of the names found in these documents. I simply want to make the point clear, that these men, who have been told they would not be prosecuted, began, like the rats of the fable, to show their noses out of the hole, and when they saw they were safe, when they learned that they could start agitations and hold meetings without being prosecuted, they became bolder and bolder.

"The first evidence of this return to the offensive dates back to November 22, 1914. As I will not mention names, I will refer to the author of this document, as X. He says:

" 'To talk peace is the duty of all workingmen's organizations.'

" 'The responsibility of the French, English and Russian governments is not a light one. Furthermore, it has not been established that the French government did everything it could to safeguard peace during the last days of July."

The speaker was interrupted by a storm of exclamations, among which could be heard the voice of Senator Guilloteaux, saying:

"The abominable lie."

"You see the tendency of these men," continued Clemenceau. "At first they remain close to the goverment, of which M. Malvy is a part; and then beginning in November, 1914, they say:

" 'It is not certain, that you did not provoke the war.' "

"Whoever said that are Boches," shouted Senator Guilloteaux, again drowning out the cries of his colleagues.

"I will read from other reports," said Clemenceau.

"Z declares at Lyons that 'this ignominious and monstrous war' had been wished and prepared by England since 1904. French soldiers are committing as many atrocities as German

soldiers. The German people deserve the first place in the world because of their social and economic superiority.' "

Senator Clemenceau was again interrupted by lively exclamations, but continued:

"Here are other circulars, for example: 'All Frenchmen should have responded to the order of mobilization by a general strike and insurrection. I have no country, and to live under the Prussian heel or the French heel makes no difference to me.

"And now listen to the worst of all," said the aged Senator, pausing.

"Here is a proclamation that says:

" 'It is the German regime, which is the best. Perhaps, at this moment, German administration is rather harsh, because of the privations caused by the blockade, but, in general, all that is said about the Germans has been exaggerated. According to certain conversations with people who have left Germany, it is not the Germans who make life hard for the prisoners, but the Allied officers among the prisoners."

Referring to the strikes, Clemenceau said:

"It was also M. Malvy, who brought up the strike question that he might have the glory of saying: 'Ah, that poor Lloyd George. How much trouble he has with strikes, while I, Malvy, in accord with my friend, Almereyda, have obtained admirable results by suppressing the Carnet B.

"I will cite an example of M. Malvy's methods. There was a meeting in a government establishment. An anarchist preached all manner of revolt and lawlessness. He told the workers to stop work. There was no prosecution. The policeman present excused the anarchist. He conducted the fellow to the railroad station, and saluted by doffing his cap. Complaints demanded an investigation. When M. Malvy learned the facts, he excused both anarchist and policeman.

"It has been said that no revolutionary plot lurks behind these strikes. Let us see. I will read some official reports to

the Minister of the Interior. Here is one from M. Rault, prefect of Lyons, who writes:

" 'I am under the very clear impression, that an agitation is being hatched secretly in certain parts of the city and suburbs. I believe we may be on the eve of serious developments.

" 'The strikes in Paris have precipitated a most serious situation here. The union of syndicates and an anarchistic group, of which the anarchist X is secretary, seconded, by Z., have taken advantage of the Paris events to start a strike movement in Lyons.'

"There you can see the connection between the revolutionists and the strikes. Both are the same thing. The strikes were not only for the vindication of the workingmen. They have been fostered by certain individuals, who hoped through them to create pacifist opinion."

From a heap of pamphlets before him,—circulars, posters, manifestos of anarchists, defeatists and others of kindred sort, the Senator took a handful and continued:

"I shall read only one passage from these abominable pamphlets, which have been permitted to be sent into the trenches, which have arrived there in huge bales, and which the army officers cannot stop. We have the right to examine them, and to ask the Minister of the Interior.

" 'Why do you not put an end to this propaganda?'

"Here is a sample. It reads:

" 'The soldiers of all countries at war should follow the counsel given to them by Liebknecht, when he proposed that they turn their arms against their own government.

" 'The workingmen with arms in their hands should break the power of the bureaucratic and militarist State, and overthrow their governments. After having arrested the members of public administrations, they should form a government composed of the proletariat. These workingmen's governments should take possession of all the banks, of all the

corporations of any importance, and institute with all the energy of the capitalists, the mobilization of the proletariat.

" 'It is not in vain that in all countries, the so-called common people learn how to use arms. If in 1912 Serbian and Bulgarian peasants were able to hasten the termination of that war by shooting their officers, the French, German and English workingmen can do likewise.'

"And this is the vile kind of stuff which has been permitted to be circulated." said Clemenceau. "I think that even when pamphlets do not show the name of the printer, those responsible for their distribution can be reached and seized."

Among other criticisms of Malvy, Senator Clemenceau cited the escape of deserters as the direct result of the negligence of the Minister of the Interior. Continuing, he said:

"On July 17, 1917, the Prefect of Police wrote to M. Malvy that he had found the address of the syndicalist, anti patriotic deserter, Cochon, who had been defended by Almereyda in the '*Bonnet Rouge*'. He asked the Minister of the Interior for instructions to arrest Cochon.

"Three days later, the Prefect of Police again wrote to M. Malvy that as the instructions had not come on time, Cochon had escaped."

At this point Malvy, who had been bending forward further and further to catch all that Clemenceau said, leaped to his feet with this interjection:

" 'On the instant, I gave the Prefect of Police the order to arrest that deserter."

"You did not give it on time," insisted Clemenceau. M. Cochon was forewarned. There is no doubt about it. And Cochon is that ignominious syndicalist anti proprietor, anti patriot, whom you all know."

"I give you my word of honor," implored Malvy.

"What," exclaimed Clemenceau. "What was your purpose in compelling your prefects to ask you for instructions, before making such arrests? In a country three years at

war, in a country invaded by the enemy, why should it require specific instructions from the Minister of the Interior before arresting a deserter? Explain that to me. Now, sir, it is your turn to speak."

The "Tiger" had sprung. Malvy tried hard to show he did not feel the claws, but failed. Half stammering, he replied:

"But, M. Clemenceau, I-I, in fact I had been advised by the Prefect of Police, that they—they merely thought they had found Cochon's abode."

"Sir, you are not answering the question," cried Clemenceau, "I have asked you how you could explain your conduct, how in a country three years at war, in a country invaded, it should be necessary for a prefect of police to ask the authorization of the Minister of the Interior for the arrest of a deserter. (Prolonged applause)

"But I must pass on. I wish to say something of the way foreigners have been watched during the war.

"M. Malvy has left the doors wide open. Let me give you an instance. A friend of mine, a Dr. Baratoux, a widely known specialist of Paris, a man widely known and greatly esteemed, was taking a walk at Dinard on September 20, 1914, only eight weeks after the declaration of war. He saw an automobile surrounded by an excited crowd, which was yelling:

" 'Down with the Germans! Down with the Boches!'

"Dr. Baratoux approached, and finding that the automobilists were trying to start the motor and escape he threatened to puncture a tire. Finally, he compelled two men to get out of the car. They were two Germans, M. Pollack and M. Braun, who were travelling with a permit from the Minister of the Interior.

"The physician immediately reported these facts to a member of the municipality of Dinard, and was told that the Mayor had just appealed to the population to respect foreigners and not disturb them.

"In indignation the doctor pasted on his window the Mayor's proclamation and beside it a clipping from a Paris newspaper, which stated that in Munich French prisoners were being exhibited in a public garden for 10 pfennigs admission. The following day the Mayor gave vent to his anger by sending this statement to '*La Guerre*', the newspaper published under the control of the municipality of Dinard:

" 'I dedicate these lines to some anonymous brutes, who by letters or posters have reproached the Mayor of Dinard with a lack of patriotism because he did his utmost to prevent a certain number of excited people from molesting the few Germans and Austrians who remained here after the mobilization.' (Exclamations)

"This is only one incident, but it furnishes some idea of the whole picture, the condition of all France seven weeks after the declaration of war. Alien enemies were roaming around everywhere."

After mentioning several more instances of Germans and Austrians operating with perfect freedom in various places, Clemenceau continued:

"In all these incidents you will find that the Minister of Foreign Affairs has clashed with the Minister of the Interior. The former wanted alien enemies put under guard, that there might not be any chance of wrong doing. But as for Malvy, he was so lenient with the anti patriots, so anxious to guarantee them against the law, so generous and kind, that his fame will endure for a long, long time.

"M. Malvy can only offer an embarassed reply. He explains that he must handle the working classes with tact. He says:

" 'You have asked me to act with energy. I reply that an obstinate and vigilant patience, an appeal to reason in the hours of crisis are perhaps not less efficacious than a policy of repression.' "

"Very well," "very well" chorused the socialists on the Left. Simultaneously Malvy cried:

"You have reproached me with not having brought you enough heads. Instead I brought you results, and it is upon these results that I ask the High Assembly to judge me."

Again the "Tiger" sprang. He cried:

"No, no, I reproach you for having betrayed your country."

The public was aroused by Clemenceau's speech to white heat. It demanded that he be placed at the head of the government and permitted to purge France of the evils he had revealed.

At this crisis, when the chief plotters of the Great Conspiracy realized they were doomed, unless all possible evidence of their crimes was destroyed, unless every tongue, that might tell, was silenced, Almereyda was suddenly struck dead.

Only a few days after Clemenceau's speech the *Bonnet Rouge* editor-in-chief was arrested and taken to Fresnes prison. On August 14, 1917, a little more than three weeks later his body was found half prostrate on the floor of his cell. At first sight, it looked as if he had hung himself from a bed post.

The first report of the jail authorities called it "suicide." There was another investigation, and three physicians, Dr. Socquet, Dr. Dervieux and Dr. Vibert visited the prison. The body was found laid upon a bed. It was covered with a sheet which stretched from head to foot.

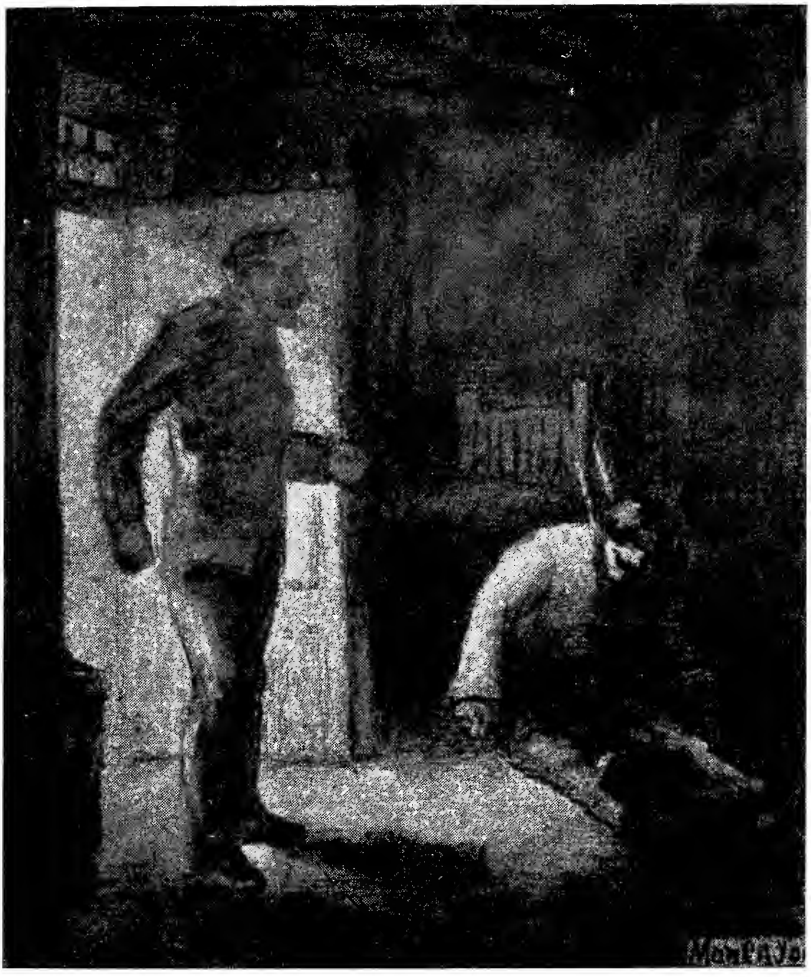
"Lift up the sheet", ordered Dr. Dervieux.

A guard pulled back the cloth to the knees.

"Lift up the sheet," repeated the doctor.

Even more slowly the guard obeyed. The thighs, the breast were exposed.

"Come, come ," cried the doctor, losing all patience with



Almereyda's Tragic End

"Was he a suicide, or was he murdered that he might not reveal the inmost secrets of the Great Conspiracy? His death, like his life, was in violation of the laws of God and Man."

the hesitancy of the jailer. "Take off the sheet. Take it off."

The body was now fully exposed. The doctors looked closer and discovered around the neck a thin black line, where a cord had been drawn so tightlythat it had nearly cut through the flesh. It was in the very same place, where Almereyda once wore the ribbon of the Black Cross.

"Murder or suicide?" asked the doctors of each other. All shook their heads. The jailer again explained that the body was found hanging to the bed, but the doctors listened to the story in silence.

Almereyda's death was like his life. Both violated the laws of God and man. Whether he was murdered or committed suicide, his story died with him.

CHAPTER XVI

Almereyda's Spectre Arouses France

Daudet Calls Malvy Traitor—Painlevé Seeks To Drop Scandal—Raids on Daudet's Newspaper—Bolshevik Triumph in Russia Excites French Socialists—France Beset With Greater Perils—Clemenceau, Man of The Hour—At Last Called to Premiership—Demand Caillaux Be Tried

The tragedy of Almereyda's death aroused the nation to demand still more insistently that the traitors of France be punished. A storm of public censure at last drove Malvy out of office. He resigned, as Minister of the Interior, on August 31, 1917.

The *Bonnet Rouge* gang was panic striken. Duval was arrested two days after Almereyda's death. Goldsky and Landau were put in jail on September 24; and five days later Bolo Pacha, while dining at the Grand Hotel, just across from the Opera in the center of Paris, was informed he too must go to prison.

But the power of Malvy, though out of office, remained tremendously strong. His socialistic followers refused to believe the stories about him. The socialistic newspapers kept emphasizing the statement of Clemenceau, that Malvy could not be charged with high treason, but neglect of duty: and the question of duty, they said, was a very broad one.

Premier Painlevé, who succeeded Ribot, Sept. 10, 1917, took a weak, irresolute attitude. It looked as if the mysterious influence of Caillaux would hush up the scandal, until Léon Daudet again took up the fight. He said that after

Malvy had been admitted to the Council of War, the enemy was obtaining French war secrets and defeating the French armies with unfailing success. Finally, Daudet wrote the following letter to President Poincaré:

"I address myself to you because it is important that you should be informed of what no longer is a secret; also because you have a great role to play and can save France.

"M. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, is a traitor. He has betrayed the national defense for three years with the complicity of M. Leymarie and some others. Proofs of this treason superabound. It would be too long a story to lay them before you. Be assured only that M. Malvy has kept Germany fully informed of all our military and diplomatic plans, notably through the gang of spies of the *Bonnet Rouge,* through his friend Vigo (Almereyda) and through one Souter, Director of the Maggi Kub, (Az Beef Extract Company).

"It was thus the German High Command knew, point by point, the plan to attack the Chemins des Dames. See the Spanish newspaper, A. B. C. of July 23, 1917. When Malvy was admitted to the Council of War it was with applause from the *Bonnet Rouge.*

"Know also that documents of indisputable authority show the hand of M. Malvy and of the *Sûreté Générale* in the military mutinies and the tragic events of June, 1917.

"It lies with you Mr. President, to verify these accusations by a rapid investigation, which will be an easy matter for you, and to do prompt justice, for it is reported that Germany, to demoralize the public still further, is prepared to abandon M. Malvy in a short time as useless to her cause.

"The only means to destroy the German plans, therefore, is to act and bring before the military tribunals the wretch who has delivered France morsel by morsel to the enemy.

"Anyway, fulfilling what I believe is my duty as a French-

man with regards to you, Mr. President, I would wish to fix a date with a view to later eventualities, and remain

"Very respectfully yours
"Léon Daudet."

President Poincaré immediately asked Malvy for an explanation, and Malvy on October 4, 1918, went before the Chamber of Deputies, and asked that Poincaré read Daudet's letter. In a frenzied speech Malvy branded Daudet as a vicious slanderer. Premier Painlevé promised the Chamber that Daudet would be obliged to prove his words. The Minister of Justice, M. Peret, instead of leaping at the opportunity of aiding Daudet, said that the law, as it then stood, made it impossible to prosecute Daudet, but that he would undertake to introduce a bill, "making impossible a repetition of such slanderous acts, which sowed distrust and pessimism throughout the country."

On top of this statement from the Minister of Justice, and the very next day after Daudet's letter was read in the Chamber, his newspaper offices were raided, and the edition of *l'Action Française* for Oct. 5, was seized.

Meantime, such papers as *Le Pays*, a pro Caillaux organ, kept insisting that Daudet was simply trying to discredit democratic institutions. They said that through his attacks on Malvy, Daudet hoped to overthrow the republic and again enthrone the royalists. Whether or not Painlevé listened to these politicial sirens, he at all events steered the Ship of State toward the rocks. He decided to let Malvy escape. On October 15, 1917, he reported to his Cabinet that all the accusations against the former Minister of the Interior, whether of communicating military and diplomatic documents to the enemy or of complicity in military disturbances were quite unfounded.

The government, he asserted, was detirmined not to interfere or to tolerate interference with judicial proceedure. In other words, Painlevé persisted in following the *laissez faire*

policy of his predecessors and "let the traitors catch themselves" as one French critic expressed it.

Painlevé's attitude was characterized by Daudet as "stupifying."

"On the one hand," he wrote, "the Premier usurps the judicial authority, which is alone competent to handle this matter, and declares my charges unfounded. On the other hand, he affirms that he is resolved not to encroach on that same authority, which he tramples under foot."

Painlevé reply to Daudet's criticisms took the form of another raid on the offices of *l'Action Française*. On October 28, the police descended upon the editor, seized five revolvers,a few other firearms and a dagger, which decorated the walls, and then rummaged through Daudet's desks. The director of the judicial police submitted his report to the Minister of Justice, who had already attacked Daudet as a slanderer, and as a result the following official communiqué was issued:

"Searches were carried out last evening which resulted in the seizure of a quantity of arms which came under the prohibition instituted since the beginning of the war, as well as documents of great importance. An investigation has been begun of movements tending to provoke civil war by arming citizens against one another."

These charges against Daudet were proved preposterous, and Painlevé was cartooned as the modern Don Quixote.

The most serious blow at the Painlevé ministry, however, was the connection finally revealed between Sergeant Paix-Seailles, an assistant in the Premier's own office, and Almereyda. On Nov. 6, Captain Mangin Bocquet, Judge Advocate, attached to the second Paris court martial,became dissatisfied with the explanation of Paix-Seailles, concerning his connections with the *Bonnet Rouge*, and formally charged him with communicating to a newspaper the letters and reports of General Sarrail.

On the following day, November 7, the Bolsheviks overthrew Russia and placed Lenine in supreme command in Petrograd. The news spread through France like wild fire. The socialists, who had been somewhat cowed by the resignation of Malvy, the death of Almereyda and the arrest of most of his associates, paid no heed to the Paix-Seailles affair and began their propaganda anew.

Among the French troops renewed efforts were made to start a proletariat revolution. The following poster also appeared in nearly all the munition plants:

"Our Peace Terms:

"We propose to the workers that they reflect upon the conditions of peace which we propose and that they discuss them.

"Explain to the soldiers that they will be able to secure a democratic and durable peace. The soldiers of all the warring nations should follow the advice of Liebknecht, when he asked them to turn their arms against their own government, advice for which he had been condemned to hard labor.

"The workingman, with arms in his hands, should break the power of the bureaucratic and militaristic state, overthrow the government heads, arrest those in public power, and form a government composed of the representatives of the proletariat. The Commune of Paris in 1871 and the Council of Workingmen's Delegates in 1905 in certain cities of Russia, were governments of this kind.

"These workingmen's governments should take possession of all the banks and of all undertakings of importance, and institute, with an energy equal to that displayed by the capitalists at the present time, the mobilization of the proletariat."

The dangers confronting France now became so alarming, that the public insisted more than ever that Clemenceau, who had long urged the most relentless warfare against the enemy within, be made Premier. On November 13, 1917, Painlevé

fell. Despite his own personal prejudices, President Poincaré heeded the voice of the people and placed Clemenceau in command. Instantly the "Tiger" made good his promise. Not only did he seek by every possible means to strengthen and encourage the armies of the republic to redouble the fight against the invader, but he ordered a most searching investigation of all the plots of internal disruption.

"Death for the traitors", became one of the slogans of the new administration.

The situation, however, was extremely critical. The power of Caillaux and Malvy, the dangers of socialistic ferment, which had frightened his predecessors, menaced Clemenceau from the very beginning. Many predicted that he could not possibly wage two wars, the one within, the other without.

In his book, "Clemenceau", Gustave Geffroy, president of the Academy Goncourt, and one of Clemenceau's life long friends, writes of this perilous period as follows:

"Clemenceau left his newspaper to take the first place in the Cabinet. He became Premier and Minister of War after the third year of the conflict. He entered office under difficult and critical circumstances.

"The events in Russia had changed the conditions of war by liberating numerous German corps of the Eastern Army. The fatigue of the trenches and of battles without visible results had been anticipated by Germany, and her pacifist or défaitiste propaganda had been pushed with still greater vigor, aided by the criminal intrigues of some and the culpable disinterestedness of others.

"Serious riots had demoralized in certain places the discipline of the army. This nefarious propaganda was carried on throughout France. Clemenceau, who had already warned the government and the Parliament of the dangers of the situation during secret sessions, made up his mind to publish his criticisms and his warnings, and he did so in his speech of July 22, 1917 in the Senate.

"This energetic intervention brought Clemenceau into control of the Government. Without further details, I may say that Clemenceau, in devoting himself utterly to waging war without and within, in letting the civilian and military courts of justice to be free to inquire into all offences and crimes, in convincing the Allies to estabish unity of command at the front, in persuading England to send over to France a new expeditionary corps, in getting America to hasten the transportation of men, food and munitions, turned the tide of the war."

Malvy now made one more desperate effort to escape. Still a deputy, representing the Department of Lot, he believed he still had enough friends in public life to trust himself to their mercies. On November 22, therefore, he asked that he be sent before the Senate, sitting as a High Court, and tried on the charge of treason.

"It was a theatrical effort," said *La Revue des Causes Célèbres*. "M. Malvy might have dragged those, whom he considered his 'calumniators', into a criminal court, but he preferred to address himself to a political tribunal." After a very tumultuous and passionate discussion, M. Louis Nail, Keeper of the Seals, declared that it was the clear wish of the government to know, as soon as possible, the entire truth. Thereupon, the Chamber decided to convene immediately and appoint a commission of thirty men. This was done. Upon a report of M. Louis Puech, the resolution was voted that same day.

Six days later, on November 28, after a nine hour tumultuous session, the Chamber voted unanimously that Malvy be sent to the High Court.

Premier Clemenceau intervened in the debate only long enough to show that new scandals were being unearthed at every turn of the investigation of Malvy's administration.

"Only two days ago," he said, "an altogether new Bolo *dossier* was discovered tucked away at Police Headquarters."

Before Malvy could be placed on trial, Clemenceau struck again. At last he threw the light of inquisition upon the mysterious, lurking figure behind Malvy, and brought out into clear relief the hypnotic face of Caillaux.

On December 10, the Premier informed his Cabinet that evidence had been obtained, which made necessary the prosecution of Malvy's master for conspiring with the enemy. In various official circles it was also rumored that Almereyda's strong box had been discovered and in it had been found new proof against Caillaux. Two days later, Dec. 12, a report addressed to the President of the Chamber of Deputies by General Dubail, the Military Governor of Paris, was made public, which revealed Caillaux as having been in constant touch with Bolo Pacha and practically all of the *Bonnet Rouge* gang. The report asked authorization to prosecute Caillaux. The effect upon some of the socialist members of the Chamber was stupefying.

"The intrigues of Caillaux tended to disrupt the Allies and precipitate a premature, dishonorable peace with Germany" said General Dubail. "Investigations of various persons accused of communication and commerce with the enemy have discovered in the possession of nearly all a great number of letters from Caillaux.

"The examination of this correspondence is singularly disturbing, and necessity requires that it should be brought to the attention of justice. It is a serious matter, that a statesman of such importance as Joseph Caillaux, who has occupied the highest positions of state, who has had the honor of directing the policy of his country and has assumed willingly the leadership of a great party, should maintain close and intimate relations, which cannot be denied, with French or foreign adventurers, whose actions and tendencies since the beginning of the war render them objects of suspicion to the least informed minds.

"The correspondence seized in the Bolo Pacha investigation is particularly suggestive.

"In the house of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' where the safes were full of German money, Caillaux counted many friends. He was in correspondence, for example, with Jacques Landau, and he aided by gift of money the founding of the '*Tranchée Républicaine*'. He received at his home at Mamers, M. Duval, business manager of the '*Bonnet Rouge*', M. Marion administrator of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' and manager of the '*Courrier Viticole*', M. Landau and M. Goldsky, all connected with the '*Bonnet Rouge*' scandal. The whole band went from Paris in an automobile to visit him."

The letters which Caillaux wrote Bolo were quoted by General Dubail to show that the former Premier wanted to talk with Bolo about his trip to America.

In a letter to Bolo from Rome, dated Oct. 29, 1916, Caillaux wrote:

"Soon, dear friend, I must talk seriously with you of a great many things."

There were three charges on which General Dubail asked authority to prosecute Caillaux, namely.

Endangering the safety of the state by acts tending to compromise the alliances concluded between France and foreign powers.

Entering into treasonable relations with the enemy.

Disseminating peace propaganda which demoralized the Allies and aided the foe.

The accusations fall under articles 76, 77, 78 and 79 of the Penal Code, which make it a death penalty "to conspire or have dealings with foreign powers or their agents or to conspire with the enemy to weaken the fidelity of officers, soldiers and sailors."

Deputy Louis Loustalot was also involved in General Dubail's charges. He was said to have served as an inter-

mediary between Caillaux and Cavallini. Dubail also asked leave to prosecute Loustalot.

The hour this happened in the Chamber of Deputies, Caillaux was at Mamers, presiding at a lecture on the origin of the war. From the platform he was called to the telephone.

"General Dubail has asked the Chamber that your parliamentary immunity be waived," said the voice at the other end. "He asks the same for Loustalot, that you both may be prosecuted."

Caillaux did not ask for details, but jumping into his automobile he commanded the chauffeur to make all possible speed for Paris.

NOTE

To understand still more clearly the extraordinary power of Malvy in remaining in a Cabinet position, although all other heads of departments were constantly going and coming, one should examine the following list of Ministers. Here may be found the names of all the men in control of the French government both before and during the war; and among them always in the same office, always Minister of the Interior, was Louis J. Malvy. Not until we reach the Painlevé Cabinet, organized more than three years after the declaration of war,do we fail to find this hitherto invulnerable friend of the foe.

Malvy first became a Cabinet officer in 1911 under Premier Monis. Only these Cabinets which immediately preceeded or existed during the war are given. They are:

THE DOUMERGUE CABINET, Organized, March 18, 1914.

Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gaston Doumergue.

Minister of the Interior: Louis J. Malvy

Minister of Justice: M. Bienvenu—Martin
Minister of War: Joseph J. P. F. Noulens
Minister of Marine: Ernest Monis
Minister of Finance: René Renoult
Minister of Public Instruction: René Viviani
Minister of Commerce: Raoul Péret
Minister of Public Works: Fernand David
Minister of Colonies: Albert F. Lebrun
Minister of Agriculture: Maurice Raynaud
Minister of Labor: Albert Métin

THE VIVIANI CABINET, Organized, June 13, 1914.
Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, René Viviani
Minister of the Interior, Louis J. Malvy
Minister of Justice, M. Bienvenu—Martin
Minister of War, Adolphe Messimy
Minister of Marine, Armand E. Gauthier
Minister of Finance, Joseph J. P. F. Noulens
Minister of Public Instruction, Victor Augagneur
Minister of Commerce, Gaston Thomson
Minister of Public Works, René Renoult
Minister of Colonies, Maurice Raynaud
Minister of Agriculture, Fernand David
Minister of Labor, Charles Couyba

THE VIVIANI CABINET, Reorganized August 26, 1914
Premier without Portfolio, René Viviani
Vice President and Secretary of Justice, Aristide Briand
Minister of the Interior, Louis J. Malvy
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Théophile Delcassé
Minister of Finance, Alexandre Ribot
Minister of War, Alexandre Millerand
Minister of Marine, Victor Augagneur
Minister of Public Instruction, Albert Sarraut
Minister of Public Works, Marcel Sembat
Minister of Commerce, Gaston Thomson

Minister of Colonies, Gaston Doumergue
Minister of Agriculture, Ferdinand David
Minister of Labor, M. Bienvenu—Martin
Minister without portfolio, Jules Guesde

THE BRIAND CABINET, Organized, December 12, 1916

Premier and Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand
Minister of the Interior, Louis J. Malvy
Minister of War, General Lyautey
Minister of Marine, Admiral Lacaze
Minister of Finance, Alexandre Ribot
Minister of National Manufactures (including Munitions and Transportation), Albert Thomas
Minister of Public Instruction, Paul Painlevé
Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Etienne Clémentel
Minister of National Subsistence and Labor, Edouard Herriot
Minister of Colonies, Gaston Doumergue
Minister of Justice and Public Works, René Viviani

THE BRIAND CABINET, Reorganized October 29, 1915.

Premier and Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand
Ministers without portfolios, Charles de Freycinet, Léon Bourgeois, Emile Combes, Jules Guesde, Denis Cochin
Minister of the Interior, Louis J. Malvy
Minister of War, General Galliéni
Minister of Marine, Admiral Lacaze
Minister of Finance, Alexandre Ribot
Minister of Justice, René Viviani
Minister of Public Instruction, Paul Painlevé
Minister of Commerce, Etienne Clémentel
Minister of Agriculture, Jules Méline
Minister of Public Works, Marcel Sembat
Minister of Labor, Albert Métin

Minister of Colonies, Gaston Doumergue

THE RIBOT CABINET. Organized March 19,1917
Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexandre Ribot
Minister of the Interior, Louis J. Malvy
Minister of War, Paul Painlevé
Minister of Marine, Admiral Lacaze
Minister of Finance, Joseph Thierry
Minister of Munitions, Albert Thomas
Minister of Public Instruction, Jules Steeg
Minister of Public Works, Georges Desplas
Minister of Commerce, Etienne Clémentel
Minister of Agriculture, Fernand David
Minister of Subsistence, Maurice Violette
Minister of Labor, Léon Bourgeois
Minister of Colonies, André Maginot

Malvy resigned August 31, 1917. The cabinets following his resignation were:

THE PAINLEVE CABINET, Organized, Sept. 15, 1917.
Premier and Minister of War, Paul Painlevé
Minister of the Interior, Jules Steeg
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexandre Ribot
Minister of Marine, Charles Chaumet
Minister of Munitions, Louis Loucheur
Minister of Finance, Louis L. Klotz
Minister of Transports, Albert Claveille
Minister of Labor, André Renard
Minister of Subsistence, Maurice Long
Minister of Colonies René Besnard
Minister of Public Instruction, Daniel Vincent
Minister of Commerce, Etienne Clémentel
Minister of Agriculture, Fernand David
Minister of Missions Abroad, Henry Franklin Pouillon

THE CLEMENCEAU CABINET, Organized Nov. 16, 1917

Premier and Minister of War, Georges Clemenceau
Minister of the Interior, Jules Pams
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stephen Pichon
Minister of Marine, Georges Leygues
Minister of Munitions, Louis Loucheur
Minister of Finance, Louis L. Klotz
Minister of Justice, Louis Nail
Minister of Labor, M. Colliard
Minister of Agriculture and Supplies, Victor Boret
Minister of Colonies, Henri Simon
Minister of Public Instruction, Louis Laferre
Minister of Public Works, Albert Claveille
Minister of Commerce, Industry, Posts and Telegraphs, Etienne Clémentel
Minister of Blockade and Liberated Territories, Albert F. Lebrun

CHAPTER XVII

"The Hall of Lost Footsteps".

The fateful Chamber of Deputies—Caillaux Fights His Accusers—A Master of Camouflage, He Paints the Blackest Charges With All the Colors of Explanation—Strikes at Clemenceau. Asks the "Tiger" If He Remembers When He Also Was Called Traitor—Caillaux Arrested—His New Life Behind the Iron Bars of La Santé

The Chamber of Deputies is sometimes called "The Hall of Lost Footsteps." Within its portals there have been many goings and comings, many secret meetings, many whispered interviews in out of the way corners, many wires leading away to the Bourse and the financial exchanges of London, Berlin and New York, many ears listening to the voices of ambition, intrigue, avarice, deceit, corruption and treason, which are all lost to the casual visitor.

Standing on the left bank of the Seine, looking across the river at the obelisk and statuted fountains of the Place de la Concorde,this fateful edifice has lifted many a man from the obscure walks of private life to places of power and fame. And it has also cast many a man down into the depths of disgrace and dishonor.

In its tympanum above the twelve columns of its facade facing the river may be seen the figure of France with the Constitution, attended by Liberty, Order, Commerce, and Peace. Yet beneath these sculptured emblems, many a man has plotted to enslave liberty, to overthrow order, to destroy commerce, and to seek peace, when peace meant degredation and defeat.

Through the corridors of "The Hall of Lost Footsteps" on the day after his connections with Bolo and the *Bonnet Rouge* traitors had been revealed, Caillaux strode with a defiant step. Within these walls he had often parried many a thrust, overthrown many an adversary who sought to point him out as the evil genius of France, and again he came prepared to strike down any and all who dared stand in his way.

Caillaux was still a deputy. He still represented the Department of the Sarthe. He accordingly possessed parliamentary immunity,and until his colleagues voted to take it away from him, he could not be prosecuted for the high crimes with which he had been charged. Among the members of the Chamber he still counted a formidable following, which he had bound to himself through all the expedients of political favor and patronage, of which he was master. Many of these satellites now gathered around and asked him if he would fight to preserve his parliamentary immunity.

"No," he replied. "I want to be tried. I want justice. I wish I had been here yesterday. I would have leaped to the platform of the House and defied my accusers. As soon as I can, I will tear all these lies to tatters. I will explain everything."

On December 22, Caillaux's opportunity came. The Chamber was crowded, and not a few said it made them think of the trial chamber in which his wife once sat and heard herself called a murderess. The galleries were filled long before 9 o'clock, and all chatted nervously while waiting for the proceedings to begin. Not a few women pressed black bordered handkerchiefs to their eyes, as they looked down on the vacant seats below, where here and there great mounds of flowers told of war and death, of those who would never more return to the seats of council.

When at last President Deschanel's bell rang intense silence ensued. The only sound was the half stifled sobbing of a woman in the gallery which caused several deputies

below to look up wonderingly. After M. Paisant explained the findings of the investigating committee, Deputy Loustalot in a faltering voice read his declaration of innocence. He was just about to sit down, when Caillaux marched in, head up, shoulders back, eyes snapping, bravely swinging one arm and carrying a bundle of documents under the other. He looked as if he burned to get into the fight, and yet when his time finally came, when at last he faced his colleagues, his voice died away and his eyes grew hollow.

"Louder, louder," cried the socialist Left. The royalist Right and the Center remained absolutely silent. From the government bench Premier Clemenceau strained to hear every word. His face was as impassive as the wall behind him.

After straightening out again the mass of documents before him, Caillaux continued:

"I know that I am not accused of having commited this offense for money. No one has spoken of Judas's thirty pieces of silver. I have been spared that humiliation. But there has been talk of disreputable combinations, of mysterious intrigues to sever France from her Allies.

"Such charges are false. With all my soul, with all my strength, with all my being I deny them."

From point to point in his carefully planned defense, Caillaux proceeded. He had soon apparently regained all his old time masterfulness. He plainly appreciated the frequent cheers from the socialist Left. He first spoke of Bolo. He admitted that he knew him, that he had breakfasted and dined with him, that he had written him letters, but it signified nothing. He said he had given money to the *Bonnet Rouge*, but added:

"It was my duty to do so. It was before the war, when I was made the object of a campaign as terrible as the one waged against me today. I was compelled to defend my honor and the very life of the one closest me."

A murmur swept over the galleries. It seemed almost

ready to break forth in a storm of cheers and hisses, of praise and fury, when the speaker averted such an outburst by turning to another theme. He told of the insults, which he had suffered because of the "calumnies" heaped upon him, of attempts on his life, as the result of which his wife had become a nervous wreck. It was for this reason, and no other, he declared, that she went to Italy in 1916, and that he joined her at Monti Cafini and accompanied her to Florence and Rome.

Cavallini, he said, was introduced to him by Deputy Loustalot, as a man interested in a proposed Franco-Italian bank. He knew nothing of Cavallini's shadowy connections with Bolo or his crooked record of earlier days in Italy. Cavallini took a letter to Mme. Caillaux in Italy. Yes, but he thought at the time it was proper. The man had been recommended by Loustalot, and Loustalot was one of his old time and trusted friends.

For everything, Caillaux had an excuse. Over the blackest charges against him, over the ugliest accusations, this master of camouflage painted all the colors and shades of explanation. That he had plotted to tear France away from her allies was a monstrous lie, he cried.

Several deputies called attention to his pro-German record before the war. Instantly, Caillaux threw a veil of apparently perfect patriotism over all his pro-German activities. He said:

"I did not favor an alliance with Germany. Not at all. I simply advocated a policy which did not completely exclude agreements on limited and clearly understood questions, a policy which looked to a friendly understanding between the Great Powers, from which might come reparation and the rule of right, for which we have been waiting since 1871. (Prolonged cheers from the Left)

"That was a difficult policy in a country, where—and it is to her glory—there is such keen national susceptibility, that

any agreement with a country which conquered us in the past, causes thrills of horror. No matter how limited the entente may be or how honorable the agreement, this policy finds the most hostile opponents. It rests upon an old republican tradition reaching back to Gambetta, and among those who now voice it loudest is M. Clemenceau.

"This policy was smashed by the events of 1914. The great war broke out. There could no longer be any philosophical conceptions or ideals. The patrie was in danger. The question then became one of duty.

"For men in politics who are still young, ardent, active, there are several courses when placed in power. One is to watch the acts of the government and from the tribune to criticise them pitilessly. Another way is to aid with all one's strength the men who are burdened with the frightful responsibilities of power. I adopted this second attitude. The only reproach that can be leveled at me is not that I talked too much, but kept my ideas too much to myself.

"When events become the masters of men, is it forbidden to see, to analyse, to give advice? Is it forbidden to demand better organization in the conduct of the war, strict control and less waste of men and money? Above all, is it forbidden to discuss peace, to assert that it is not enough merely to wage war, but that we must also prepare for peace, a popular, durable, a human peace?

"Cannot one even think with President Wilson upon the formula of peace without annexations, without penalizing indemnities and with the right of peoples to dispose of their own destinies?

"Because one thinks along these lines, should one be branded a 'defeatist'? The word is one of dishonor. No Frenchman ever wished for defeat. Of that I am certain. Nor is there any one—and here I am speaking especially about myself—who ever dreamed of breaking a French alliance in time of war, most of all of turning away from England,

which is spontaneously admired by all democrats, who have come to understand English traditions and culture.

"The word, 'defeatism' was created by those who exploit scandal, those who desire to make a religion of their idea of patriotism, a Geissler's hat before which some people, whom I know, will refuse to bow.

"Yes, better be regarded as a suspect, better the road to the guillotine, than to surrender the full independence of one's personal convictions at the command of a State religion thus recreated." (Volleys of applause from the Left)

Caillaux looked up at the iron features of Clemenceau. He primed himself for one of those theatrical effects in which he had so often won success. He sought also to stir in the depths of the mind of Clemenceau the memory of the day when he also was the target of political attack and some said he would fall never to rise again.

"Mr. President of the Council," said Caillaux, "permit one of your former collaborators to ask how the memory of the past affects you at this moment. Surely you remember certain tragic sessions,when you were accused of treason, when you were assailed in passionate speeches, when Deroulède sought to tear you to pieces. Do you want to resurrect another brand of injustice?

"You honored me then by allowing me to aid you. Yes, I stood by you. Have you forgot? In those past days you evidenced a most gracious generosity. Do you wish to throw all that aside in order to make me the victim of another Dreyfus affair?

"It is easy to say that the difficulties of a country, as glorious as ours, are only due to treason. But heavy is the responsibility of those who would use such an opportunity to become demogogues of evil.

"I am about to leave this tribune, which I have briefly occupied for the first time in three years. When shall I mount it again? You are going to deprive me of my parliamentary

immunity. I myself demand it of you. I want restitution before a tribunal. I want justice, because of all the calumnies and all the ignomies, with which my private life has been befouled.

"Far from resenting your action, I thank you, my colleagues, and I am almost tempted to thank the Government. I demand a trial so that my voice may not be stifled by the rolling tambour of another Santerre.

"I shall conclude with this warning. While engaged in the Norton affair in 1885, M. Clemenceau said, 'It is time to end this cheap play acting. When you sow dissenison among our citizens you weaken the fatherland, you open a broad road into France for the enemy.' "

As Caillaux took his seat, his followers on the Left again applauded, as in the old days of Almereyda's claque. Many kept staring at Clemenceau to see if the subtle dagger of Caillaux's irony had reached the heart of the old "Tiger". But the face of the Premier remained as completely expressionless as ever. Even when Francois Fournier called upon him to speak, he showed not the slightest evidence of emotion, as he rose and said:

"I am the only one here who has not the right to reply to M. Caillaux."

The Chamber voted 418 to 2 that Caillaux should stand trial.

A little more than three weeks afterward, the Clemenceau government received from Secretary of State Lansing at Washington copies of Bernstorff's cablegrams to Berlin revealing Caillaux's cöoperation with the enemy. Meantime, the Italian police had turned over to the French authorities the tell tale papers of Caillaux's secret safe in Florence. There was a hurried conference of the Cabinet, and Clemenceau's recommendation that Caillaux should immediately be placed behind prison bars was approved.

Although the decision to arrest Caillaux was reached on

the afternoon of January 13, it was thought wise not to put him in jail until the next morning. It was learned that he had planned a big dinner party, and as one of the Ministers at the conference said:

"Let him have it. He may never have another."

At 7 p. m. the warrant of arrest was delivered to the police with instructions that they should watch Caillaux's house all night and arrest him the first thing in the morning. As his guests came and went that night amid the strains of music and the sounds of song and laughter, a number of portentous figures stood guard about the place. But Caillaux's guests enjoyed the dinner too much to notice anything else.

Next morning at eight Police Commissary Priolet and a number of other officers in a heavy motor car drew up before the Caillaux home at No. 22 Rue Alphonse de Neuville. The big windows were closed and barred. There was not a sign of life within.

"Quite a dinner they had last night," remarked Priolet, as he rang for admission. Obtaining no response, the officers began knocking against the heavy doors of the entrance and finally they brought a timid maid into view. "Go way, go way," she exclaimed with all the necessary indignation of a well trained servant. "Go way, M. Caillaux is still in bed."

"Please tell M. Caillaux," replied the Police Commissary, "that he is under arrest."

The half fainting maid took the message upstairs, and on returning she most graciously invited the officers in. They waited and waited. Caillaux insisted on taking his customary bath and massage and have his valet shave and dress him. He insisted on every exquisite detail before be judged his toilette complete. Meantime, Mme. Caillaux entertained the officers in the sumptuous drawing room. It was not until 9.45 a. m. that the master of the house presented himself to the police, his valet behind him carrying a beautiful seal skin overcoat. His protest against arrest was perfunctory. A moment

later he was seated in the police automobile and driving down the Avenue de Wagram toward the Arc de Triomphe, at the Etoile, from which nine of the greatest avenues and boulevards of Paris radiate in all directions. He chatted graciously with the officers until circling the great arch. Then he became suddenly silent. Whether or not this mighty emblem of the military power of France made him think of all he had done to bring dishonor and defeat upon his country, none of his fellow passengers knew.

As he crossed the Seine he could not help see in the distance the island of the Cité and the towers of Notre Dame. It was on that island that his wife had once been imprisoned in the Conciergerie during her trial for murder. At last the automobile turned into the Boulevard Arago and stopped within the shadow of the Prison de la Santé. Hither his wife had first been brought on the night of Calmette's death.

Escorted by Commissary Priolet and followed by three inspectors, the former Premier of France entered the wide entrance of the city jail, a prisoner. At first he assumed the air of a man who could not bend, who was still above the law. As soon as he reached the office of the Director, M. Dabat, he sought to greet this official as if he were some old associate in the Chamber of Deputies.

"Ah, Good Morning, M. Dabat," he said smilingly. "I want to ask you a question. I am under arrest. That is understood. But I trust you will not treat me as an ordinary prisoner, charged with the violation of the criminal law."

"I have received no orders to the contrary," replied M. Dabat. "I will see." Having telephoned to the Ministry of Justice, M. Dabat finally replied that he had been authorized to treat Caillaux as a political prisoner.

"You may have two mattresses instead of one," he said. "Also two bed covers and a table. Such things the ordinary inmates do not have. You will be placed in the Eleventh Division. I will see that the extra furniture is taken to your

cell immediately." Turning to Commissary Priolet, the Director added:

"Please take the gentleman now to the Recorder's Office."

There a secretary took the warrant, inspected the signature of Captain Bouchardon with which it was countersigned, and asked:

"Are you Caillaux, Joseph Caillaux, born at Mans, on March 30, 1863, the person named in this warrant?"

"Yes," replied Caillaux, and in answer to many more questions he finally gave all the details of his pedigree, like an ordinary criminal. As he began to realize how far he had fallen, he lost his former appearance of good humor, and when at last, he was asked to press his finger tips on an ink pad, he drew back defiantly.

"Your finger prints, please. The rules compel this formality," was the almost apologetic explanation. Swallowing the lump in his throat, Caillaux submitted to the ordeal, and the prints of the fingers of both hands were recorded on the pedigree card. This done, he was led to the Department of Personal Inspection. With a special card, which he had just received,giving his cell number and name, Caillaux entered a room, where three policemen were searching a line of prisoners. The sight made him recoil, and he was about to step back into the hall, when one of the policemen said gruffly:

"Here, here. Wait your turn."

Caillaux held out his card. The policeman looked, and instantly he was all deference.

"What, Joseph Caillaux?" he exclaimed.

"Yes."

The other policeman looked at the card. They whispered to each other a moment. Then one said in a low voice:

"Empty your pockets, if you please. It is the rule."

The blood mounted to his temples, as he obeyed. On the table before him he piled a number of private papers, his

knife, keys, and a pocketbook, which one policeman opened as he announced:

"Six thousand francs".

With a few books including love poems and novels, he was taken to Cell No. 17. A naval quarter master, who had been wounded in a sea disaster, was already there to act as attendant as well as keeper. "Peyrebrune," he answered, when Caillaux asked his name.

In Cell 17 Caillaux proceeded to make himself at home. His old time self possession returned. Also his appetite. He ordered a plate of bouillon, two eggs and a half bottle of Bordeaux for luncheon, and another plate of bouillon, chicken and rice, and another half bottle of Bordeaux for dinner. During the afternoon he confered with M. Demange, his attorney, in the reception room. In the evening he read and wrote until 11 o'clock, and then gave orders to be awakened at 6 in the morning. His keeper smiled.

"We all get up pretty early here," he replied.

"And this is the Eleventh Division?" queried Caillaux for lack of another question.

"Yes, sir," responded the keeper. "It is specially guarded. We have got some very dangerous people here. There's Bolo, Duval, Landau, Marion, Goldsky....."

"Thank you, good night," said Caillaux.

CHAPTER XVIII

Bolo Tried for Treason

The Levantine Adventurer Confronted By His "Wives"—The Last One Still Faithful—His First Woman Victim Too Blind To See Him—She Tells Her Story Of a Ruined Life—Bolo Weeps—His First Wife Relates How She Discovered His Perfidy—His Brother, a Monsignor, Pleads To Save Him—Bolo's End

Of Caillaux's prison associates, Bolo was the first to be brought to trial. On February 4, 1918, he was taken before the court martial of the Third Council of War. His easy, gracious manner, his pleasant words for everyone, made him appear the least concerned of all the court room. His elegantly tailored costume, his glossy hair and moustache, his jaunty monocle, hardly permitted one to think he had been living for the last five months in the city jail. Indeed, he looked as if he had been the host at one of his famous banquets in an adjoining room, and had just dropped in to meet some more old friends.

The chamber was filled with a far different crowd than witnessed the trial of Mme. Caillaux. Two-thirds of the women were garmented in black. Nearly all the men among the spectators were aged or crippled. Upon the whole scene fell the shadow of suffering and death. The spectre of war haunted everything. Almost continually one could hear the far off rumble of guns at the front or the throbbing roar of aeroplane sentries overhead.

Beside Bolo sat Porchère, accused of having been a go-

between in one of Bolo's treason plots. Formerly an attorney at Oran, he later became vice-president of the Senate. Although the charge of treason also implicated Cavallini, the Italian co-defendant was not there. And for good cause. Just at that time he was languishing behind the bars of an Italian prison, accused of having betrayed Italy also to the enemy.

Against Bolo, there were two charges of treason. First, he had conspired with Abbas Hilmi in Switzerland to aid the foe. Second, he had received from Cavallini in Paris 1,000,000 francs of German money for pacifist propaganda in France.

As near Bolo as she could approach sat his wife. Frequently, she hid her tear dimmed eyes in her handkerchief. When her husband had entered the courtroom, she had thrown herself into his arms, and at first she almost fought against being taken out of his embrace. And as she now gazed at him through her tears she showed how she still clung to him, still believed in him.

Further away there lurked two other women. Bolo had caught sight of them early, and he made every effort to avoid seeing them again. He well knew the stories that they had been summoned to tell, stories of his old wild life, stories that would reveal in him all that was base and perfidious. They were his other "wives".

After Colonel Voyer, very military, very correct, very courteous and yet very firm, sometimes pulling the ends of his big moustache, other times polishing his glasses, had taken his seat as president of the court martial; after Lt. Mornet, bearded, shaggy, almost wolfish, had plunged into a great mass of documents and begun his work,as chief prosecutor; after Capt. Bouchardon, bald, calm, deliberate, had presented his report, as chief investigator; after Bolo, suave, dissimmulating, resourceful, had sought to parry Mornet's interrogations with all manner of denial or excuse; after a

BOLO PACHA

"Always on guard, he met attack with all the weapons of dissimulation. His smiles, his sneers, his gestures of defiance or contempt were perfect camouflage."

train of other witnesses had testified to Bolo's adventures, intrigues, and crimes,—these two other women were called to the stand.

The first made Mme. Bolo almost swoon from her chair. It was Mme. Mathilde Panon, Bolo's first woman victim, a poor, thin, feeble creature, almost blind, her voice hardly more than a hoarse whisper, her lips, white as in death. As she tottered along, her face uplifted, her almost sightless eyes half closed, she seemed a sort of wraith, which had come up out of his evil past to mock him.

"Before knowing M. Bolo," she began tremulously, "my husband and I were very happy. When Bolo came, that happiness vanished. A few months later, I was lost. I believed in his love. I gave up everything for him.

"One day, after a serious illness, he told me that my husband was about to be declared a bankrupt, that there was only one thing to do, and that was to elope. I was demented. I cannot, cannot tell you my emotions that day. I was consumed with a ravaging passion. I consented to flee with him. I abandoned my husband, who had worshiped me. I abandoned my mother, my country, everything, for him."

The ghostlike face looked blankly at Bolo, who buried his head in his hands and began sobbing like a child. Mme. Bolo tried to reach out her arms to comfort him, but her strength failed her.

"I carried away with me my jewels, some of which were very beautiful, very costly. Most of them were a present from my aunt, who loved me very dearly. I also took a few thousand francs.

"A few days later, I fell ill at Barcelona. Bolo took me to Valencia, where M. Pollis, the French consul, took pity on me and found some pupils for me. I taught elocution. But I could not earn money enough for Bolo. He began to sell my jewels. M. Pollis told Bolo he would have to leave. We returned to Paris in distress. My last jewels were disappear-

ing rapidly. I was still ill. In Paris I suffered the agonies of both soul and body. At last I could not stand it any longer. I went back to my husband. I beseeched him to save my life, to take me into his arms once more. And at last, at last, he forgave me."

The whispering voice became a sob. The pallid face grew still whiter. The thin fingers twitched convulsively. Not until Lt. Mornet's kindly voice reasured her, was she able to continue. Finally she said:

"I began to work with all my soul, with all my energy, to deserve my husband's pardon, to prove to my mother that I was sincerely repentant. And happiness came again. Oh, it was so sweet, so sweet after such agony. But it could not last. Bolo came again. He talked with my husband. He was so kind, so apparently anxious to regain favor, that he tempted my husband into another venture, in which we lost everything. Oh, God, why did this evil being ever cross my path?"

Colonel Voyer bent forward sympathetically, and asked:

"Do you recognize the accused as the Bolo that you knew?"

Mme. Panon turned her face again toward the prisoner, who at the command of the court, threw back his shoulders and stared straight ahead. His face had become a death mask.

"No, no," faltered the poor woman. "I am blind."

Mme. Bolo kept her face hid in her handkerchief.

Panon, the husband, also told his story. His hesitant manner, his softness of voice revealed the kind of man, who forgives because of weakness rather than of charity. He explained how he had been twice deceived. After Bolo had seen Pavenstedt and opened a new stream of riches, Panon believed that his former partner's character had changed for the better, the same as his fortune.

"In March, 1917," said Panon, "Bolo asked me to go to New York and learn from Pavenstedt of Amsinck and Com-

pany, how his account stood. He wanted a statement up to February, 1917. Pavenstedt refused. He told me to break away from Bolo. When I got back to France I was poorer than ever. The 10,000 francs, Bolo gave me, were almost all gone. I was ruined."

Panon's testimony aroused Bolo into a fury.

"Panon is a liar. Panon is the traitor. Pavenstedt bribed him," he cried.

Meanwhile a younger, fairer woman was waiting to tell her story of the Levantine charmer. She was Mme. Henriette Soumaille, the opera singer with whom he had voyaged to South America, whom he had finally married and then abandoned for the Mme. Bolo, who now sat near him. When she finally took the stand and lifted her veil, her features appeared to have almost completely escaped the imprint of ill fortune. Indeed, the shadow of a smile smoothed away what few wrinkles she had. It was the smile of one who is happy in not having suffered more.

Mme. Soumaille told of her tempestuous experiences in South America, how Bolo kept spending her money, and how, when the cash came too slow, mysterious burglars broke into her apartment and took her jewels As her memories of the past became more vivid her emotions became more and more aroused.

"After we separated, I tried to divorce him, but could not, because I could not find him," she continued. "I laid the case before a lawyer in Nice.

"The attorney exclaimed:

" 'Why, I know him. He is rich. He is married to—

" 'Married'? I said. 'Married? Then it cannot be my Bolo. He could not have committed such a crime as that.'

A titter ran through the court room.

"My lawyer investigated," resumed Mme. Soumaille, "He found that the millionaire Bolo was my Bolo. Some time later I saw in a newspaper, 'M. and Mme. Paul Bolo, Hotel

Ruth'. I went to the hotel and inquired. They said Bolo Pacha was stopping there.

"I let some days go by, and then I went to Bolo's home in the Rue de Phalsbourg. I stood in front of the door for five minutes, before I had courage enough to ring. At last I did, and a servant came.

" 'Is M. Bolo in?' I asked. 'Yes, he replied. Who shall I say is calling?' 'It is not necessary to give my name. He does not know me,' I answered."

As soon as Mme. Soumaille began her testimony, Mme. Bolo looked at her with mingled expressions of scorn and contempt. The faithful wife seemed to have forgotten all that was ever ill about her beloved husband, who had also recovered his good humor and returned his wife's imploring looks with apparently the happiest of smiles.

" 'As I entered the salon through one door," continued the first Mme. Bolo, "my husband came in another. He had no time to say he could not receive me. He greeted me and showed me a big arm chair, with the words:

" 'What do you wish, madam?'

" 'Do you not recognize me?' I asked. 'Must I announce myself?'

" 'No, if you please, no, not here.'

" 'What do you mean, not here? I want to talk things over, and then I want a divorce.'

" 'No, not here. I will meet you outside, any place you say, but not here. My wife is likely to come in at—

" 'Your wife?' I cried. 'What do you mean by your wife. I am your wife. You married me and you are still married to me.'

"Then the other woman came, and asked me who I was. I replied, 'Ask Monsieur.'

" 'Since it is necessary to speak,' he said at last, 'I will tell you. The madame there twenty years ago at Buenos Ayres was my wife.'

" 'She is yet, sir,' I said.

"They both began to talk at the same time, and then they came to me and besought me not to cause a scandal. Bolo said he would see me again the next day at the Grand Hotel. There, again, he begged me not to make a scandal. He said I could have no interest in ruining him. He said he would indemnify me for all that I had suffered, morally and materially, and I accepted.

"He gave me 25.000 francs and promised an income of 20,000 francs a year. I wanted it attested by a notary, but he said it was not necessary.

"Last June there were whisperings about him, and I went to him and said, 'Monsieur, I do not wish to wait longer. I want a divorce.' He replied, 'I shall go to Nice in December as quietly as I can, and establish a domicile there. Then you can sue me, and we shall be divorced.'

"Later I became worried again and went to see him. He said, 'Why do you keep bothering me. I will give you 50,000 francs, if you will stop.' I accepted."

Mme. Soumaille nearly fainted several times, as she dwelt more and more on the details of her sufferings. Finally, the windows of the court room were ordered thrown open. As she left the stand she almost fell. Bolo again buried his head in his hands, and when he lifted his face his cheeks were wet with tears. He was an utterly different Bolo from the Bolo on the witness stand. Then, confronted by the belligerant Lt. Mornet, he was supremely self possessed. Always on guard, he met attack with all the weapons of dissimulation. His smiles, his sneers, his gestures of defiance or contempt were perfect camouflage.

And now came the last Mme. Bolo to the stand. The crowd tried hard to see her face, but the broad brim of her picture hat cast too dark a shadow. She appeared to be more resolute, more self possessed, than the women who preceeded her. She too had at one time been a singer in small

theatres, but a life of wealth, the adulation of fair weather friends, the servility of servants, the hypocrisy of society, had given her a false poise and an affected bearing, which at this critical time did not desert her. She vigorously denied that Bolo had dissipated her fortune. Instead, she said, he had increased it.

"He has been a model husband," she said. "He worked hard. He always attended to my comfort. He was most regular in his habits. He rose every morning at seven. He received visitors at nine. He went to business as soon as disengaged, and returned home at noon for *déjeuner*. Later he would leave the house for various business engagements. At night he never went out without me. He never accepted a dinner engagement alone."

Mme. Bolo's unstinted praise was in answer to questions asked by Albert Salle, Bolo's attorney.

Among all other witnesses, none was awaited with more straining of necks, more excited whisperings, than Joseph Caillaux. At last he pushed his way toward the stand through a surging crowd of spectators. His alert and sure step, his vigilant eyes, seeking ever to dominate those that met them, indicated that he had lost none of his old time faith in his own fortunes.

"What is your name?" he was asked.

"Joseph-Pierre-Marie-Auguste Caillaux."

"Your profession?"

"Deputy, President of the Council General of the Sarthe."

"Your residence?"

And without the least hesitation or the slightest evidence of feeling, he replied:

"La Santé prison."

Caillaux admitted he had been on good terms with Bolo. His defense was much the same as in the Chamber. When asked why he had written Bolo to see him upon the latter's return from America, he replied:

"I was anxious to know if he had any definite idea of the success of the two canditates for the Presidency of the United States. As a statesman I was naturally interested. For my part, I was willing to see M. Wilson victorious. I knew that his candidacy was the best thing for France. M. Hughes, on the contrary, had aroused my suspicions, because he was supported by Wall Street."

M. Cassella, the Swiss correspondent of *Le Matin*, told of his work as an investigator, in following all the labyrinthine movements of Bolo and his fellow conspirators from rendezvous to rendezvous, hotel to hotel, train to train. Indeed, it was M. Casella, who furnished the first proof of the Levantine's guilt.

"German propaganda in Switzerland," he said, "plans to overthrow the whole world. From Switzerland the Germans are launching a Maximalist movement in all the Allied countries. Those who have lent themselves to this propaganda are traitors more miserable than the spies at the front. They are ten times more abominable, than the perfidious cowards who turn their backs to the enemy."

Charles Humbert told of his dealings with Bolo, and insisted that he had not the slightest idea of the German source of Bolo's millions. He said that Bolo's check was on the Bank Périer. When he learned of Bolo's guilt, he said he reimbursed him. "Not one cent of Bolo's money ever entered the '*Journal*'," he testified. "It passed from America to the Périer Bank, and thence to my attorney, McAndouin, who gave it to McBrunet, legal adviser of Pierre Lenoir."

Lenoir's connections with the enemy were revealed in a later trial in which with Humbert and Desouches, Humbert's other associate in the *Journal*, he was accused of treason like that of Bolo. (See Chapter XXI.)

And now among the last witnesses there appeared a man in clerical garb and studentical manner, whose severe face bore a faraway resemblance to that of the chief prisoner in

some of his graver moods. Years before, when Bolo Pacha was nearly arrested for some youthful prank, and this ecclesiastic had not yet entered the church, the latter said to the former:

"Paul, unless you remember that you are responsible to God for all you do, you shall surely meet punishment at his hands."

"There is no God," was the reply.

At last these same two were brought face to face again. And again each must have thought of those words of earnest warning and truthful prophecy. For the two men were brothers. One had followed the broad; the other the narrow path of life. The man in black took the stand, and said he was Monsignor Bolo. He had come to save his brother's life. He refused to believe any of the charges against him. He simply knew that his brother must be innocent, that he could not have stooped so low. Even when confronted with the blackest proof, he shook his head. "Impossible," he said. He spoke proudly of the patriotism of the Bolo family. He told how he, himself, despite his grey hair, had volunteered to fight for his country at the first news of the German invasion.

"I forgot my age," he cried. "I wanted to do my duty. I went to the front. The only reason I am here now, is because I had to come back ill and lame."

But the pleadings of the faithful brother were of no avail. On February 14, 1918, Bolo Pacha and Cavallini were sentenced to death. Porchère was condemned to three years imprisonment.

On April 17, 1918, Bolo was executed.

CHAPTER XIX

The Bonnet Rouge Treason Unfolded

Duval, Marion, Joucla, Landau, Goldsky, Leymarie, Vercasson Put On Trial. Lt. Mornet Exposes All Their Plots. Explains How Germany Used Them As Pawns. Bonnet Rouge Peace Articles Indentical With Those Of German Newspaper. The Tragic Fate of Duval.

A little more than two months later, on April 29, 1918, the *Bonnet Rouge* gang was taken from "La Santé" and arraigned before the Third Council of War. Into the court martial chamber they came, one by one, Duval, Marion, Joucla, Landau, Goldsky. With them were also brought to trial, Leymarie, Malvy's aide, and Vercasson, Duval's messenger. The accused looked haggard and worn. The execution of Bolo less than two weeks before still lay heavily upon their minds. Nor had they forgotten the tragic fate of Almereyda.

Lt. Mornet, even more bearded and shaggy than ever, conducted the prosecution. Captain Bouchardon's report revealing all the varied treacheries of Duval and his associates, of which we are already familiar, was read into the record. A multitude of witnesses followed, and then the prosecutor summed up the whole story of the treason of these men in one of the most eloquent discourses, ever heard in a French court.

After briefly sketching the various plans of Germany to spread the poisonous propaganda of a premature peace throughout France, Lt. Mornet continued:

"Since it was treason, which was to be accomplished through a press campaign, a newspaper was needed, that had already been established, a ground, already prepared, a house already furnished. A staff of men was wanted, whose past would be a security for the evil work expected of them. It was also necessary to have an organizer and intermediary to bring all these forces in touch with the directing power of the enemy.

"Gentlemen, they found this organizer, this intermediary, in the person of a very obscure man, M. Duval. In the San Stefano affair Duval's business relations with Germans had been perfectly legal, but when he continued these associations after September, 1914, the date when all economic relations with the subjects of the Central Empires were prohibited, his acts fell under the penalty of the law.

"Out of a comparatively trifling transaction with the enemy, this treason plot, so far as it concerns Duval, was born. If you consider this fact, you will at once realize why it was necessary to pass the later law of 1915, which made it an offense even to talk with the enemy upon an economic subject.

"Experience had demonstrated that nearly always these conversations, at first of a purely personal character, led sooner or later to affairs of treason. So it was that by talking of the San Stefano company with the German Marx, Duval was prompted to talk about the war. They regretted the war. They regretted the catastrophy, and perhaps the German regretted it more vehemently than did the Frenchman. Then, while deploring the calamity, they gradually drifted into discussing the means by which the war might be ended.

"These two men began to realize their common desire for peace, a desire which was particularly violent and persistent among the Germans. Thus, little by little, from his first dealings with the enemy, Duval descended as low as treason.

"I shall now get into the heart of the prosecution, and show you that in the '*Bonnet Rouge*' a house was found already furnished. We will see what this house is.

"The '*Bonnet Rouge*' had been founded in 1913. Its programe may be found in a great poster, which I shall ask the Court Recorder to show you. It dates back to 1913, before the war, but it is typical. I quote its title:

" 'The Franco-German re-approachment.'

"In those words you have the whole programme.

"The director of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' was Almereyda. There has been a great deal said of this man during the trial. Almereyda was still a young man, and yet he possessed a criminal record adorned with six convictions.

"I am obliged to state that an important political personage, M. Caillaux, former President of the Council, paid on July 17, 1914, the sum of 40,000 francs to the '*Bonnet Rouge*'. The receipt is one of the exhibits of this case. At the beginning of 1914 there was a tragedy enacted which you remember, the assassination of M. Calmette by Mme. Caillaux. The '*Bonnet Rouge*', in the person of Almereyda, made a most violent crusade in favor of Mme. Caillaux, even going so far as to praise the crime.

"Almereyda's efforts in behalf of M. Caillaux also extended outside of this newspaper. Proof is to be found in this extremely interesting report, signed by the Prefect of Police, himself. It reads:

" 'My attention has been called to a certain number of persons who constitute a sort of claque, whose duty it is to start agitations in behalf of M. Caillaux and against his adversaries. This group, familiarly called, "The Corsican Guard", was organized during the Caillaux-Calmette trial, in July, 1914. "The Corsican Guard" was recruited by Almereyda, assisted by Napoleon Poggiale, Poggia Roch, Tavera, called the Assassin, Filippi, called Pasquale, all natives of Corsica.

" 'Every morning before the audience, Almereyda used to gather these men and other acolytes in a café at the Châtelet, and give them admission cards to the court room. It has been proved that they had agreed to try to provoke during the sessions of the court, manifestations favorable to the accused or her husband and hostile to the witness for the state and the prosecution.

" 'At the adjournment of the session, they would escort M. Caillaux under the pretext of protecting him.

" 'All these individuals were dangerous criminals and international bandits. Their leaders, Poggia Roch and Napoleon Poggiale have not incured less than twelve convictions. Still another has six convictions to his credit, chiefly for murder and arson: Tavera, called the Assassin, is a crook, living on various devices including the exploitation of gambling places. He has been convicted six times. Once he was sentenced to five years by the Assizes Court of Corsica. Filippi has not incurred less than 12 convictions, chiefly for thefts.'

"Then came the war. Almereyda, following his fantastic career, began to exert his influence upon the Minister of the Interior. I do not exaggerate in the slightest, when I say that this man, who has been condemned six times, and organized the 'Corsican Guard', became the real prefect of police.

"The proof is to be found in a series of papers on file here, sent by Almereyda to the Prefecture of Police through the Ministry of the Interior, and which contain orders to set free a long list of foreigners, interned in concentration camps.

"In the very beginning Almereyda maintained a correct atitude. We must give what credit is due him. Almereyda was boiling. He had hot blood, and perhaps, in the contagion of enthusiasm during the first days of the war, Almereyda was sincere, and under the impulse of his violent temperment dashed into a short, patriotic campaign.

"But in a note, which we have here in the files, Almereyda

explains that his ideas experienced an evolution. Moments of enthusiasm are of short duration in a rascal. Almereyda was not long in cooling off.

"By the end of 1915, one could see in the '*Bonnet Rouge*' a propaganda favorable to the doctrines of Zimmerwald and Kienthal. The '*Bonnet Rouge*' is perhaps the only organ of the French press, which published such articles at that time.

It also applauded Romain Roland because, Gentlemen, in 1915, the heart of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' had already ceased to beat in unison with that of France.

"There is another phase of this matter, which is almost too evil to contemplate, but of which I must speak.

"Several times every week, you must have seen an article in the '*Bonnet Rouge*', which was always of the same tenor. It told, for example, how husbands were deceived, how soldiers on furloughs discovered that their wives at home were unfaithful.

"Turn the pages of the '*Bonnet Rouge*', and you will become sick with disgust. You will see that its editors made every insidious effort to create a jealous fear in the mind of every soldier who left a wife at home, demoralizing him, drawing his mind away from discipline and duty.

"Look at the pictures in the '*Bonnet Rouge*'. Read the captions, 'The Ardent Patriot', 'Mimi's Mattress', and so forth.

"From 1916 on we see Almereyda in touch with all the pacifist groups. One of them, by the way, had quite an ephemeral existence. I speak of the Poinsot group. Poinsot had seen M. Caillaux, and he wrote to Almereyda on June 1, 1916:

" 'Everything has been obtained for us. All we need is that the censorship will allow us the right to discuss in the newspapers the problem of peace.'

"Poinsot, however, was far less dangerous than some other people, with whom Almereyda was now to be found. For

example, one of his associates was Hartmann, Hartmann, whose home was a veritable center of international treason, Hartmann, who at present is being prosecuted in Paris for 'intelligence with the enemy'. We find Hartman, writing this letter to Almereyda:

" 'I thank you for sending me your newspaper, and I take the liberty to compliment you upon its correct attitude.'

"We discover Almereyda also in close communion with Guilbeaux, Guilbeaux, whom the '*Bonnet Rouge*' supported in protesting against the interdiction of the review *Demain* (Tomorrow), the official organ of Leninism and Bolshevism. Listen to this letter, which Guilbeaux has written to Captain Bouchardon, because, I was forgetting to tell you, Guilbeaux is also being prosecuted for 'intelligence with the enemy'.

" 'Sir:

" 'I learned through the papers the charges of crime against me, and the inquiry which you are making. I have the honor to inform you, that if perchance a summons were sent me, I would not pay any attention to it. I would not appear.

" 'In fact, I do not recognize tribunals, which are tribunals of classes, of which the Councils of War are the most odious expression.

" 'In so doing I am inspired by the examples of my internationalist comrades, Lenine and Zenovieff, when they were convicted of high treason by the dictator, Kerensky. The only jurisdiction I recognize is that of my comrades, the Zimmerwaldians.

" 'I do not blame you. You are but the unconscious tool of imperialism, which the hypocritical phraseology of 'Right', 'Liberty', and 'Civilization', cannot dissimulate. You are but the involuntary plaything of the Tzarist régime, which has been governing the French Republic for a long time, for after all the French Republic is only a financial monarchy.

" 'The attitude of the French imperialistic and chauvinistic

press clearly expresses the policy of despair, of which Clemenceau is the dictator, Clemenceau, who vainly promises victory.

" 'The hour is near when the French, English and Italian proletariats shall follow the magnificent example of the Russian proletariat, shall overthrow the malefactors now ruling them, shall proclaim the peace of the people, and shall install the Universal Republic of the Soviets'.

"You can see, Gentlemen, who are Almereyda's friends, who are the friends of the '*Bonnet Rouge*'.

"Up to this point these documents, these letters, show only the exterior work of the house. They are only a kind of a sign. We must now look within and learn whether the merchandise corresponds with the sign.

"You have heard M. Marchand's testimony, that the fifteen publicity campaigns which appeared in the '*Bonnet Rouge*' were also printed in the '*Gazette des Ardennes*', which is not published by French traitors, like those who are editing "*La Vérité* (The Truth), at Barccelona, but edited and published by the German Staff. I repeat it. The '*Gazette des Ardennes*' is the newspaper of the German Staff, which attempts no camouflage whatever, but says:

" 'We are printing a newspaper in French for the benefit of the French population whose territory we are occupying.'

"And this is the only newspaper which our unfortunate countrymen in the invaded territores are permitted to read.

"M. Marchand also discovered something else of vital importance. Each one of these campaigns is subdivided into a certain number of chapters. He found the same number of these subivisions in the '*Gazette des Ardennes*', as in the '*Bonnet Rouge*'. Furthermore,each of these subdivisions develops its arguments in exactly the same way, sometimes with identical phrases, sometimes word for word the same.

"I do not need to repeat them. I simply want to make it clear that from 1916 on, from the moment that Duval be-

came the administrator and money lender of the '*Bonnet Rouge*', it began a campaign in complete accord with the interests of the German Empire.

"Let us call this campaign, the German campaign. Its object was to procure the moral failure of the peoples who were combatting Germany. It began towards the end of 1914, after the Battle of the Yser.

"Germany then realized that it was necessary to divide the Allies, to weaken their energy, to exploit all their emotions, all their passions, their mournings, their lassitudes, their sufferings, their errors, their illusions. It was nesessary to inflame their ambitions, their rancor, their cupidity, their jealousies, their hatreds.

"And Germany knew exceedingly well how to do this.

"She sought first of all to lure her enemies, to lure them with the hope of a false peace, a peace without a victory. And we know today by the sad examples of Russia and Roumania, what peace without victory means, especially when dealing with Germany.

"Since 1914, therefore, Germany tried to deceive the Allies with the illusion of a peace that cloaked defeat, the mirage of peace, a mirage in which one's eyes may be the more easily deceived, because of the fearful nervous strain of war, the sufferings, the misery, the agony of war.

"The campaigns of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' have been conducted with a cleverness which went so far as to provide for various collaborators, various personalities, who, because of honorable records, appeared to be a guarantee of patriotism that would reassure public opinion.

"In France of course, it has not been possible to make an open German campaign, and the newspaper which posted such a sign, as, '*Maison Allemande*' (*German House*) would have stirred the population of Paris to mob and set fire to the building.

"The editors of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' were too prudent to

do that. They were too resourceful. They had many disguises, and one was their campaign of seeking to make the French people forget the German crimes. It was a theme which fitted into the propaganda of the German Empire perfectly. It tried to influence us to be more just, if I dare use that expression, towards the Germans. Then came the campaign of suspicion. It was directed at all the Allies to embroil them. And behind these two campaigns was the one German purpose of turning France away from her friends and delivering her into the hands of the enemy.

"The '*Bonnet Rouge*' sought even to direct the suspicions of the French toward themselves, to convince them that they themselves, were responsible for the war. It endeavored to persuade them that they were fighting not for their country, but remote and unjust conquests.

"Then there was the campaign for an immediate peace, a campaign which was pushed with great vigor. And when this thought had sunk deep, the'*Bonnet Rouge*' began a guarded crusade to inspire revolt and desertion.

"I was speaking a moment ago, of the '*Bonnet Rouge's*' offensive against hatred, as M. Marchand phrased it. I do not want to leave that phase of the case without a final thought.

"When we consider that ten of our departments are still under the German heel, when we hear every day that one of our ancient cities has been destroyed, when we learn that still more atrocities have been perpetrated, I must say that I feel a hatred for the Germans, a hatred which will persist for centuries.

"It is a Holy Hatred.

"It is a Holy Hatred, because, when a people has done what Germany has done, that people and that government have placed themselves outside of humanity for centuries.

"I am looking at the pages of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' to give

you what Duval under the pen name of M. Badin said of people animated by hatred.

"In an article of August 1, 1916, he calls them 'the Demoniacs.' M. Badin means that those who are crying vengeance for German crimes are demoniacs.

"Now, listen to something still more perfidious.

"It followed the establishment of the '*Ligue du Souvenir*' (League of Remembrance), created to perpetuate the memory of German crimes At its head were M. Mirman, prefect of Meurthe-et-Moselle: M. Simon, Mayor of Nancy; and M. Keller, Mayor of Lunéville; all well qualified to know what German crimes are. These gentlemen explained the purpose of their organization, as follows:

" 'What will happen after the war? We do not wish to try to predict We are not combatting any tendency. We only wish to dissipate ignorance. People, according to their various temperments will pardon the German beast, if they wish it and when they wish it. They will pardon him unqualifiedly, or according to certain conditions, but first they must know the truth.'

"What is the '*Bonnet Rouge's*' reply to such language? Here it is, in the issue of October 18, 1916:

" 'These words are signed by Messers Mirman, Simon and Keller. I cannot fail to discover in them a sort of Jesuitism, which frightens me. How can they dare affirm that they are trying to influence the future judgment of men, when they sow hatred? Is it our task to ask our soldiers that they take vengeance under the hypocritical pretext of justice?'

"No remembrance, no rancor, no hatred, only love, yes, love. Such was the motto of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' of April 18, 1917. I quote now from an article of that date.

" 'We protest against the distribution in all the schools of the city of a pamphlet entitled, 'Their Crimes', which tends to develop hatred in young creatures, who were only born for love.'

"Yes," thundered Lt. Mornet, suddenly casting the newspaper aside, and exclaiming:

"Only born for love, whom the Gothas assassinate at night."

Opening the pages of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' again, the prosecutor proceeded:

"And now here is something still more odious. It is a story put into the mouth of someone from the invaded territory, and reads:

" 'War is not a cheerful conversation. One must not show only one face of the truth, for it has several. For instance, life at first in the invaded districts was quite painful, because the newspapers from Paris were frightening us with their stories of the cruelties of the invaders.

" 'As soon as this fright passed away and the Germans prevented the Paris papers from reaching the invaded countries, different relations were established between the conquerors and the people of the invaded regions. There were some touching scenes. I might speak, for example, of the manner in which a German major took care of our sick, and with what intelligent methods the invaders organized some of our own services.'

"To hear the '*Bonnet Rouge*' speak, the German is gentle: he is incapable of doing any harm: he has a kind soul. When one knows him, one loves him: and he conquers us for a second time.

"No, I do not exaggerate at all. Judge for yourselves. I quote now from the issue of February 22, 1917:

" 'Preceded by the reputation of being 'wild beasts', the Germans in our fields of France have conquered our peasants. These Germans are gentle, polite, laborious. The German prisoners have shown that they possess a kind soul. They find pleasure in things which are neither low nor coarse. Their feelings are tinted with idealism.'

"This is only praise for the German soul. Now we will

listen to the clear voice of admiration. An article in December 1915, entitled, '*A la manière de Romain Roland*' (After the style of Romain Roland) reads:

" 'Why should I exploit the pro French sentiments of an ignorant people and yell insults at the nation, which gave birth to Kant and other masters of the new man. I envy the magnificent dash, the fiery passion of the German soul. I wish that a little of those qualities would inflame our own minds.'

"Now for the other side of the picture. In contrast with this praise of Germany appears the insidious crusade, which the '*Bonnet Rouge*' waged against our Allies, and especially England. Let me quote from the '*Bonnet Rouge*' of June 5, 1916, from an article, entitled *The Pans*. This sentence is enough:

" 'We know 'Pan Germanism,' 'Pan Slavism'; but now a third 'Pan' looms upon the horizon, 'Pan Britainism.'

"The editors of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' do not wish us to feel any hatred against Germany, but, whenever they speak of England, they seek to arouse the rancor of past ages. M. Badin is strangely tenacious in this policy. On July 14, 1916, he writes:

" 'The suffragettes have just organized in London a cortege, which has provoke the enthusiasm of the imbeciles. The thought that comes to me out of this banality is that Saint Michael and *Jeanne d' Arc* were placed at the head of the procession. The leader of the suffragettes has undoubtedly heard that the English nation has forgotten the rather lively quarrel which embroiled it with the *Pucelle d'Orléans* (The Maid of Orleans) and that we for our part must forget the acrimonious discussions, which we had at the time of Trafalgar and Waterloo. A lesson good for reflection.'

"The *Bonnet Rouge* has tried to persuade the French people, that they have been doing all the fighting, that for the English the war was a promenade, a play, a physical

culture exercise. I will quote 'M. Badin's' own words, from the '*Bonnet Rouge*' of June 21, 1916:

" 'I am a fervent Anglophile. When so many people consider the war a tragedy, even a cataclysm, I certainly admire those who prefer to regard it, as a physical culture exercise.'

"The same note is to be found in what 'M. Badin' said in the '*Bonnet Rouge*' of June 24, 1916. Let me quote him again:

" 'Some peevish minds are excited, because the uniform of our brave *poilus* is more neglected than that of our Allies. This is because they are the children and not the guests of the house. Our *poilus* must know that where feasts are given, they must yield to our guests and discreetly efface themselves. Anyhow, have they not the battlefield where they can get their due and proudly place themselves in the lead?

" 'I do not want to be suspected of even wishing to insinuate, that all the fine looking and well groomed soldiers, who hoist the cockade of our Allies on their martial helmets forget in the delights of a great city the rude call to arms. If they rest and amuse themselves, they will be the more sprightly, when it is necessary to come to the rescue and take the place of our fallen heroes. In a long war, such as this one, it is of importance to provide reserves.'

"What more perfidious argument?" exclaimed Lt. Mornet pointing his guant finger at Duval. "What could be more insidiously conceived to fill the minds of the French people with suspicions and hatreds toward their allies? Here is another example, intended to wound, to offend the feelings of the French to the very quick. On September 8, 1916, 'M. Badin' wrote:

" 'The remembrance of the exigences of an ardent youth has compelled me to pity our Allies for the absence of certain intimate joys, which are indespensable, even though they be corporal. I had been thinking that no provision had been made for such a situation. But how ignorant I am. They

have even done more than that. They have been contracting marriages on the spot.

" 'Numerous weddings have been celebrated between British soldiers and young French girls. But the rapidity of these unions has not always permitted the newly wed British to be free of all matrimonial ties in their own country. Some accidents have happened. There have been bigamies.

" 'Next year, when I shall go to spend my vacation in the Alps, I shall take inspiration from the practical methods of the Allies. I shall temporarily marry a native girl, who will charm my nights of exile. For example, Mlle. Chrysanthemum Savoyarde.'

"Against the United States, we also find the '*Bonnet Rouge*' aligned. It tried to keep that country and France apart. For nearly a year we find in the '*Bonnet Rouge*' a continuous campaign against American intervention. 'Why do they want to fight?' was the daily theme of the articles of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' during the entire year of 1916; and when America finally broke with Germany, Almereyda informed his readers it was almost a catastrophy. The following day, he mastered his emotions, but with a perfidy that may be clearly seen. He said, 'Still a rupture of diplomatic relations does not necessarily mean war. Therein lies our hope.'

"Everything was not yet lost for Germany, nor for the '*Bonnet Rouge*'. Almereyda immediately launched a series of articles in which he did not cease to demonstrate to French readers that it was to their interest that the United States should not actively participate in the war. He wrote, for example, on February 7, 1917:

" 'I attempted day before yesterday to examine the consequences of the last act of M. Wilson and tried to demonstrate that every medallion has a reverse side. Already a big munition manufacturing company has been advised to cease furnishing munitions abroad. I make no comment.'

"On April 16, 1917, 'M. Badin' wrote:

" 'When peace shall have been concluded, no matter what the terms may be, does one think that humanity will be better and more reasonable, because the plenipotentiaries of Washington shall have signed the treaty?'

"I have been speaking of the campaigns against our Allies and American intervention. There was another crusade even more dangerous. The '*Bonnet Rouge*' sought to show that responsibility for the war should not fall exclusively on the Germans. I have here an article, entitled: 'Words of an Emperor' from the '*Bonnet Rouge*' of August 23, 1916. It reads:

" 'Having declared he had not wished this war, the Emperor said: "I have not the presumption to think that history will find me faultless. In a certain sense, every civilized man in Europe should have his share of responsibility in this war."

" ' "Every civilized man." Study the significance of this phrase and tell me, if you have not the impression, as well as I, that a crime against humanity has been committed, for which every one of us is more or less responsible. To be sure we did not declare the war, but listen. The Emperor finished by saying that the French people were dreaming of vengeance. Do you not think (it is the '*Bonnet Rouge*' that is talking) that once in a while one may find in the words of an Emperor some truth, or at least some matter for reflection?' "

Thread by thread, plot by plot Lt. Mornet unraveled the '*Bonnet Rouge*' conspiracy. He pointed out the parts which each of the accused had played. He told of Duval's miserly life, his entry into Almereyda's newspaper, his checks from Marx.

"One cannot but wonder if a part of the enormous sums which Duval received from Marx," he said, "did not go directly into Almereyda's pocket to satisfy his taste for luxury and fast life during the eighteen months before his death. And who was Almereyda? A gypsy posing as a great lord, eaten up by excesses of all kinds, a veritable human rag.

Despite his apparent power, despite his seeming wealth, his two villas, his two mistresses, his fleet of automobiles, and all that, Almereyda became only a tool in the hands of Duval.

"Duval had the money. Marion, Landau and Goldsky looked to Duval and did his bidding for this reason. Vercasson brought him the checks of Marx. Leymarie saw that he got his passport and the check that had been seized. They all accommodated themselves to his will and they are all guilty."

After telling of Duval's various trips to Switzerland, Lt. Mornet said: "It was upon his return from his last journey, in May, 1917, that the 150,000 franc check was seized, which led to the collapse of this house of iniquity. Duval has tried to explain this check so many ways, that he has convicted himself out of his own mouth. With his own hands and through Vercasson Duval received nearly one million francs of German gold."

The prosecutor frequently quoted from the mass of documentary evidence piled before him. Government agents had gathered together checks, bank books, ledgers, official reports from various departments, letters, telegrams, photographs of signatures, and all manner of other data. When he spoke of the contents of Caillaux's Italian safe and the communication found there which Caillaux received from Marx, Lt. Mornet exclaimed:

"Here we have the German pay master putting himself at the disposition of a former Premier of this republic. I cannot refrain from uttering the name of Caillaux, every time I come across it in a case of treason."

The accused were all adjudged guilty. Their sentences were:

Duval, death.

Marion, ten years hard labor.

Joucla, five years hard labor.

Landau, eight years hard labor.

Goldsky, eight years hard labor.

Leymarie, two years in prison and 1,000 francs fine.

Vercasson, two years in prison and 5,000 francs fine.

On July 17, 1918, the day before the French and Americans began the great, Allied drive on the Marne—Aisne front, which marked the climax of the war and the beginning of Germany's collapse, Duval was led before a firing squad at Vincennes, and shot.

CHAPTER XX

Malvy Escapes

Tried Before the Senate, as a High Court—Confronted by Host of Witnesses Who Reveal his Perfidy—Army Reports Disclose Mutinies and Rebellions because of Propaganda of Pacifists he Protected—American Troops Just in Time to Save France—Senators Give Malvy only a Vacation

The demoralized state of the French army at the time the United States went to the rescue of the Allies was set forth in bold, black outline at the trial of Malvy, before the Senate, as a High Court. The final sessions began July 16, 1918, the day before Duval was executed. Letters from French generals were read, telling of the disastrous effect of the pacifist propaganda in the trenches, the camps, the hospitals, the munition plants, the railroads, and even the homes of the soldiers.

M. Mérillon, President of the Chamber of Petitions of the Court of Cassation, conducted the prosecution. He produced a mass of evidence which proved that Malvy, the tool of Caillaux, the patron of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' gang, was chiefly responsible for this deplorable situation. He showed that Malvy almost succeeded in betraying France to the enemy.

That Americans may still better understand how far the venom of the pacifist movement under Malvy had poisoned public opinion, let me quote from a high officer of the United States Army, who made this statement confidentially before a group of newspaper men aboard the transport, Orizaba,

while lying in the harbor of Brest, on December 10, 1918. The party consisted of correspondents on their way to the peace conference. He said:

"Brest has become intensely socialistic. As a result of the pacifist movement, a great number of people around here have wanted to end the war at any cost. Indeed, the feeling was so strong, that when the American troops began to arrive at Brest, some of the pacifists threw stones, crying:

" 'Go back to the United States.' 'You will only make the war last longer.' 'We want peace, not soldiers.' "

It was not until the French began to realize that such a sentiment was only the insidious and iniquitous outgrowth of German propaganda, not until the French government through the fearless efforts of Clemenceau and his associates sought to purge their country of pacifism and defeatism, did France again rise in all the glory of her military traditions and drive the Teuton invaders back to the Rhine.

There had been two charges against Malvy:

(1) That he informed the enemy of various military and diplomatic projects, particularly the plan of attack at Chemin-des-Dames:

(2) That he assisted the enemy by provoking or inciting military mutinies.

These accusations had grown out of the letter of Daudet to President Poincaré, branding Malvy a traitor; but as the result of a long investigation the Senate decided that there was no proof that the former Cabinet member was personally involved in these treason plots. Daudet's charges, accordingly, were abandoned. Instead, Malvy was tried for having "ignored, violated and betrayed his duty", as a minister.

Very pale, very nervous, Malvy sat beside the bulky, stolid Bourdillon, his chief of counsel. With Caillaux behind prison bars, Malvy had become a changed man The dynamo, that kept him incandescent; the hand, that made him such a brave marionette, no longer gave him power and force. As he sat

and listened to the multitude of witnesses, the vast array of documents, which showed he had permtted France to waver on the verge of revolution and destruction, he seemed almost to wither away. Now and then, as when interpellated by M. Mérillon, he would present an appearance of courage, but his paleness betrayed his fear. Despite all his show of bravery, he could not conceal the coward within.

The prosecutor told of the ravages of pacificism, defeatism, and anarchy because Malvy made no effort to stop them. He explained how all these agencies were aiding the enemy. He said that Malvy had continued for three years, as Minister of the Interior in the successive cabinets of Viviani, Briand and Ribot, and that even Painlevé, who followed Ribot, tried to whitewash him. In revealing the cause of Malvy's continued power, M. Mérillon declared:

"When Premiers chose their ministers, they do not pick them helter skelter. No. They chose men with the intention of establishing successful administrations. They made excellent selections in some cases, but they have always sought representatives of the various parties. M. Malvy represented the Radical Socialist element.

"This Radical Socialist party may be today, I do not say, separated, but rather distant from its former chief. But who can deny that in this party there was a man with great authority, an iron will, an absolutely boundless ambition, who lead his followers with supreme authority? I speak of M. Caillaux.

"In the Ministry of the Interior, M. Malvy was always the representative of his chief, the representative of M. Caillaux.

The rapidly increasing demoralization of the French army, before and even for some time after the United States entered the war, was revealed in many amazing details in the report of the investigating committee, composed of Ernest Monis, President: Eugêne Pérès, (rapporteur); Alexander Bérard,

MALVY

"His paleness belied his fear. Despite all his show of bravery he could not conceal the coward within."

Théodore Girard, M. de Las Cases, Antony Ratier, Savary Vallé, Vidal de Saint-Urbain. Under the heading "*Mutineries Générales*", the report contained these astounding statements:

"There was a vast military plot, upon which must be turned the search light of justice. Proof of the far reaching character of this conspiracy is abundant. Many instances of mutiny among the troops have been reported. Take the statement of Lt. Col. Dussange, for example, which he made in a war report of June 5, 1917. (two months after the United States declared war against Germany) and in which he said:

" 'On June 2, at noon, the. . . .R. I. (a regiment of infantry, whose number was suppressed) received an order preparatory to leaving the cantonment at Cœuvres during the following night, to go to Bucy-le-Long.

" 'I at once communicated this order to the battalions, and it could easily be seen that it would be executed with difficulty. To tell the truth, the scandalous spectacle displayed by other units on preceeding days had caused a noticeable uneasiness among the troops.

" 'On May 30, the. . . . R. I. passed through our cantonments in auto trucks, with the men waving red banners, singing the "*International*', and throwing at our soldiers circulars calling a 'strike and rebellion'. A like attitude was noticed the following day among the men of Regiment. . transported likewise in auto trucks.

" 'However, during the morning of June 2, the attitude of the regiment was excellent. The battalions had executed marches and exercises, during which the soldiers did not manifest any spirit whatsoever of carelessness or unwillingness. But towards three o'clock. . Company refused to pack for departure. The men showed they were well organized. They commited no acts of violence and conserved a courteous attitude toward their officers. But they refused to obey orders.

" 'Meanwhile,. . Company was mutining.

" 'The detachment was a strong one. It consisted of. . . .

men, all armed. It refused to obey me. The soldiers without insulting me, without pushing me out of the way, went off to the right and left, and kept on going. Many saluted me.

" 'From this point they scattered through Coeuvres to drag along with them the....Battalion by shooting into the air and forcibly compelling their comrades to follow them. The ....Company in greater part took part in the mutiny. A total of.... men became terrorized and followed the road to Villers-Cotterets. They declare that they were marching toward Paris. They had already joined the.... men, who were waiting for them in the forest of Compiègne. Later many came back, taking advantage of the darkness of the night. The remainder did not go beyond the woods immediately south of Coeuvres.'

"The Coeuvres mutiny followed the mutiny of the.... Infantry, of which General Petain made mention at the end of his report to the Minister of War under date of May 29, 1917. General Petain spoke of two formations, which had decided to march on the following morning toward Paris. He spoke of these outbreaks as acts of insubordination, '*qui se multipliaient, de façon inquiétante, depuis quelques jours*' (which were multiplying in an alarming manner for some days)."

The Pérès report at this point quotes directly from General Petain's report, omitting the names of divisions and other army details for military reasons. The General's exact language is as follows:

"These acts of insubordination are certainly the results of organization, and are developing into a very serious situation. Here are some examples:

"May 4. The.... was ordered to take part in the new offensive on the Moulin de Laffaux.

"Leaflets inviting the troops not to march and saying 'Down with the war', 'Death to those responsible for the war',

are pasted up in the cantonments. In certain battalions of the.... the men declare loudly that they do not intend to march, that they will not fight any more, while their comrades in the factories are getting from 15 to 20 francs a day.

"May 19. At.... A, a battalion of the...., which was ordered to relieve a battalion of the first line during the night, scattered in the woods, and it took all night to get them together again. It was not able to relieve the other battalion.

"May (?) At...., the division depot of the.... Regiment of Infantry, assigned to reinforce... Regiment, ran through the streets of the cantonment, chanting the '*International*'. They ransacked the house of the commander of the depot, who was absent at the moment, then a little later they sent 'three delegates' to this officer, to present their complaints. The next morning, the troops of this station refused to exercise.

"May 26. At the...., some soldiers of four battalions, who ought to go back to the trenches of the sector during the evening assembled in the cantonment of the military headquarters of the division. Despite all the efforts of the commandant of the division, of the colonel of one of the regiments, and of a number of other officers, the soldiers would not leave the meeting and go back to duty.

"May 27. A battalion of the.... Regiment of Infantry, which had been resting for twenty days in the region of Fère-en-Tardenois, was ordered to get into motor cars between 23 and 24 o'clock, to return to the line. A little before the hour for departure, a band of ring leaders, excited by drink, ran through the camp, yelling and shooting into the air. They interfered with the embarcation of their comrades to such an extent that many soldiers were missing at sunrise. One party of mutineers showed up at the railroad station of Fère and wanted to get aboard a train. It was necessary to obtain the intervention of a strong detachment of gendarmes to get the men into auto trucks and make them join their comrades.

"May 29. Manifestations in the..., who were ordered to march in the morning. They sang the '*International*' and cried, 'We want furloughs.' 'No more trenches.' "

After these quotations from General Petain, the Pérès report continued.

"These are only a few examples which may help us to appreciate the gravity of the situation. The causes are to be found in other army documents, as for instance the reports of Lt. Col. Dussange and other reports of General Petain. A report from the latter says:

" 'These manifestations do not seem to be directed against army commanders but against the government. Our men say to us, "We have nothing against you, our grievance is against the government. Our wives are starving. They are deceiving our wives in Paris. We wish to go home on leave. The government refused to make peace when Germany offered it."

" 'Some of the men keep yelling, "Revolution! Revolution!"

" 'The causes of this dangerous ferment are:

" '(1) Pamphlets which are distributed at the railroad stations in Paris.

" '(2) Agents who slip into the cantonments wearing uniforms not familiar to the corps, and who incite the men.

" '(3) Contact with Russian brigades.

" '(4) Newspaper articles.

" '(5) A hope of not being punished for their acts as a result of restrictions imposed upon the councils of war.

" '(6) Increase of drunkenness in the army, as a result of the difficulty experienced by the command in preventing wines from being brought into the zone, and also because of the abundance of money which the soldiers get on leaving the trenches (sometimes called "trench indemnity money").

" '(7) The attitude of the workingmen, who have been mobilized. Also pacifist meetings in the interior.

" '(8) Popular movements which are now taking place in Paris.

" 'These movements have deep roots in the interior of France. Accordingly, as a result of the furlough system, which cannot be changed, the front is bound to the rest of France. (Soldiers are constantly going and coming, constantly bringing back all they hear in the interior). Therefore the whole situation may at any time become very grave, and I cannot insist too strongly upon adopting vigorous measures for remedying these conditions. The most necessary things to do are the following:

" '(1) To stop the circulation of pamphlets in the vicinity of the railroad stations in Paris. Those who distribute these pamphlets are well known.

" '(2) To take steps against mobilized officers, soldiers and workingmen, who frequent pacifist gatherings in the hinterland, and at once to send them back to the front.

" '(3) To direct and to watch the press closely.

" '(4) To repress immediately what is found harmful.'

"The depression prevailing in the army after the failure of the Champagne offensive was the result of the pacifist movement, the red flag, the '*International*', the organization of a system of insubordination.

"The mental attitude of the troops has been affected by a prolonged, continuous campaign. This may be seen by such statements among the soldiers, as these:

" 'The failure of the offensive means the end of command. Victory is impossible. Russia is running toward a separate peace. Why do we not stop the struggle? Formerly one hundred years behind us, Russia is now a century ahead. The government is concealing the truth. Continuation of the war means famine. No more coal. No more bread. Foreigners are replacing the combattants. Time is consolidating the invasion.'

"In these words is to be found the gospel of anarchy. They

reëcho the subjects of pacifist meetings, the themes of pacifist newspapers and pamphlets. Such thoughts have produced gradually in the brains of men a state of morbid sensitiveness, of emotional receptivity, of weak mental resistance, which will surge into a tremendous force in a moment of crisis.

"Other reasons for the depressed spirit of the troops are:

"(1) The exaltation of the Russian revolution and its methods by such newspapers as the '*Bonnet Rouge*', the '*Journal of the People*', the '*Popular Voice of the Center*', the '*Republican Trench*', and the '*Motherland*', thanks to the failures of the censorship or in spite of its injunctions.

"(2) The regular, if not official meetings of the pacifists, under cover of so called corporative reunions.

"(3) The encouragement of insubordination and desertion by such men, as Sébastien Faure, who have been openly aiding culprits seeking shelter in Paris.

"(4) The Stockholm conference.

"(5) The calumnious story of the killing of women by the Annamites and the police, a story which grew out of an insignificant scuffle, but which was so greatly magnified, that on May 17, 1917, the Committee of Understanding of the Syndicalist Young Men issued a proclamation, that the police, not satisfied with massacring Chinese workmen at Firminy, were beating the seamstress strikers in Paris. On June 1, the '*Les Amis De Ce Qu 'Il Faut Dire*', (The Friends of What Must Be Told) a revolutionary newspaper, even went further and said:

" 'Those at the front will not permit with impunity the heads of the government to massacre their wives and their children, after causing them by their carelessness to suffer from cold and hunger.'

"On June 2, the Ninth Section of the Unified Socialist Party announced, 'The government has recalled from the front cavalry regiments all Annamites and colored troops

who are practicing with machine guns. For there are many machines guns hidden, which will be turned on you.'

"On June 4, Péricat declared before 1000 strikers of the Citroën establishment (one of the largest munition plants in France), 'The Annamites, the guardians of peace, the municipal guards, are ready to massacre you with their machine guns.'

"Thus we may see how the various defeatist agents are using silly rumors to frighten and demoralize the people.

"(6) The belief of a revolution, which was to break out in May and be followed by a revolt on the front. In April at Roanne a cortege of 6000 strikers marched through the streets, shouting, 'Down with the war'. They tore down the flag of the sub prefecture.

"The Prefect of the Loire has called the attention of the authorities to the dangerous work of revolutionary and pacifist agents in the basin of St. Etienne. Letters which are spreading the ill winds of revolt are coming from such agitated regions as (St. Etienne, Lyons, Levallois-Perret, the XI, XVIII, and XX arrondissements of Paris, Rouen, and Moulins). And these letters reflect the talk in the trenches, brought back by the soldiers who have been on furlough.

"Some soldiers have even mingled with the paraders. Others still bolder, took the stump to 'bring to the strikers the support of the poilus', as may have been seen at the meetings of the women garment and feather workers on May 27, 1917. They spread the cry:

" 'Enough people have been killed.' 'Give us peace'. 'The women want peace and their rights'.

"Hubert leads the military garment workers, the building, and the metal workers. Van Loup shouts to the morocco leather workers on May 27; 'If the nation does not want to start a revolution, let the soldiers do it.' On June 4, Hubert and Merrheim yell to the working women of the Citroën establishment;

" 'You women should come down into the street and end the war.' " 'Strikes lead to revolution.'

"Indeed, we should seek the agents of revolution among the soldiers themselves. An army report of June 6, 1917, concludes:

" 'The instigators of this movement are said to be the men of the 1917 class, recently arrived at the front, having come from the interior. Others had been on leave to recuperate. Many are reported to belong to such industrial centers as St. Etienne and Firminy. Small circulars are being distributed by civilians as well as soldiers on the trains among troops returning to the front from furlough. They are entitled:

" 'Peace without conquests, without annexations, without indemnities.'

" 'Your mouths!' 'Stockholm'. One reads:

" 'Come on, comrades. Let us be serious and couragous for once. The civilians are depending on the soldiers, and the soldiers count on the civilians for action in favor of peace. Come on slumberers, come on, parlor critics. This is not the hour for talking, but acting. We must have peace. Our comrades of the provisional government of Russia are inviting us to speak of peace at Stockholm. We must go there. (Signed,) The Pacifist Committee of the French Workingmen and Soldiers.'

"Several unfortunates, who had taken the initative in one rebellion confessed while being led away to the place of execution. One belonging to the Tenth Army admitted that he was obeying the commands of a central organization of the interior, whose agents were duty bound to spread its instructions among the troops. Another said:

" 'The movement has been organized by a few with whom we are in constant correspondence. The order for a revolution was given for a fixed date in certain regiments as well as the 18th R. I. At the same time three other regiments

were to refuse to march. We were easily led. Things were not ready.'

"In view of these facts was it not possible to learn who were the directors of this rebellion and to seize them? Yet, nothing was done. No organizers have been caught. No effort was made to catch the central body. The only activity thus far has been limited to a few individual, isolated cases.

"In the light of these facts the statement of Ventillard, of the 'Committee of Defense' and the 'Syndicalist Young Men', is significant. On June 8, to the 'Committee of Understanding for the Resumption of International Relations,' he said:

" 'In this movement there has been neither order nor management, but a tenaciousness, which is constantly revealing itself. The nation has demonstrated that it wanted to escape from bondage. The French nation has been a nation of sheep. But this time we shall come down the street with revolvers and handgrenades. Then you will see that regiments will mutiny one after another. We shall place ourselves at the head of the movement.' "

In declaring that Malvy was chiefly responsible for this perilous situation, Prosecutor Mérillon said:

"The complicity charge against M. Malvy is not the complicity of a bandit, who would be on the watch; but of another nature equally as grave. It is the complicity of a man who has a duty and who does not perform it, who instead of using the machinery of his ministry, of the police, the secret service, the passport bureau, to detect, arrest, and bring to justice the enemies within, did nothing. Worst than that, he has even encouraged some of these malefactors with subsidies.

"M. Malvy must be held absolutely responsible for the acts of his subordinates. He himself assumed this responsibility. Those who were working under his orders, the Prefect of Police, the Director of the *Sûreté Générale*, well understood that they could not act under certain circumstances.

They knew they were bound by a rule, which I may translate as follows:

" 'Nothing must be done, no matter what the crime, if committed under the high protection of certain personages, as for example, the workingmen's syndicates or the General Federation of Labor.'

"In such crimes, we discover that certain instructions were always given, and that these instructions whether eminating from the Prefect of Police or *Sûreté Générale*, were the orders of M. Malvy."

M. Mérillon read from the police records the lists of agitators, anarchists and all round criminals, which Almereyda had made Malvy liberate. He proved that the Apache aditor of the '*Bonnet Rouge*' was a constant, welcome visitor at the Ministry. He read his letters to Malvy and Malvy's assistants, asking for favors which were never refused. He exhibited hundreds of complaints against pacifists and defeatists, who were holding meetings, distributing literature, making stump speeches, but all to no effect. He showed how the Second Bureau, consisting of army police, tried to detect and arrest these criminals, and how,after constant clashes with the police of the Ministry of the Interior, Malvy had the Second Bureau suppressed.

One of the most striking examples of the way Malvy's ministry killed any investigation that would interfere with the pacifists, said M. Mérillon, was the Mauricius affair.

"Mauricius," he continued, "belonged to the Sébastien Faure group. He lectured for the purpose of preventing laboring men from working for the national defense. M. Blanc, a special commissary, reported to Second Lt. Bruyand, that the production of the workshops of Bourges was less than 50 per cent. of normal because of anti war propaganda. M. Blanc said the propagandists were working openly throughout the town. Among the pamphlets distributed was one entitled, 'The Conference of Zimmerwald'. Collections

were also being raised in the streets for Sébastien Faure's 'Bee Hive.' Blanc's investigations showed that this propaganda emanated from the German '*Social Demokratie.*' When the *Sûreté Générale* received M. Blanc's report, it prepared the following letter for the Minister of Munitions, M. Albert Thomas, to be signed by the Minister of the Interior.

"'I have the honor to inform you that the anarchistic group called '*Les Amis De Ce Qu' Il Faut Dire*', organized at Bourges by 70 workmen had decided to hold a meeting on April 1. The subject for discussion will be:

"'"The *International*, the Causes of the War." The Parisian anarchist Vandammes, called Mauricius, will speak.'

"This letter was never sent to M. Albert Thomas. It remained in the archives of the *Sûreté Générale*, with a beautiful '*No*' written upon it. M. Malvy says he knows nothing about it."

In conclusion M. Mérillon said:

"If the Minister of the Interior had not reserved his favors for such a criminal as Almereyda; and his courtesies for such anarchists, as Mauricius, but instead had devoted his days and nights to directing all the forces of his department according to the standard of service of our heroic army at the front, we would not have had to witness the military disorders of June, 1917, or unearth these scandals of the present hour.

"What do you think of a Ministry of the Interior which permitted the foes within to go unmolested, while our soldiers were fighting and bleeding and dying on the battle field to save France from the foes without?

"What an insult! What a reproach! What a disgrace?

"What a betrayal of France?

"And of all these culprits who have been exposed in our very midst the chief has been M. Malvy."

What was the verdict?

Did these Senators after learning the monstrous perfidy of this high government official, of the man who almost delivered their country to the enemy, vote immediately and unanimously the extreme penalty?

No.

They decided the law would not permit drastic punishment. After much discussion they concluded that the maximum penalty for Malvy was a five year exile and a paltry fine of $800. They did not even take away his civil rights. Accordingly, when his five years of vacation are ended, he may come back to his old haunts and enjoy all his old time privileges.

On August 11, 1918, Malvy left Paris for a villa at San Sebastian, Spain. A deputation from the semi revolutionary General Labor Federation escorted him to the train and cheered, as he was about to step aboard. When asked by a reporter how he intended to spend his exile he answered:

"Wait."

Aboard the train was a bearded *poilu,* who sprang from his seat, when he heard the cheering, and thrust his head through the window.

"Who is the man for whom they are yelling?" asked the soldier. At that moment the socialists swung their caps over their heads and cried lustily:

"*Vive Malvy!*" "*Vive Caillaux!*"

"What! Is that Malvy?" exclaimed the *poilu.* "Is that the man who betrayed France?" And rushing out on the platform, brandishing his trench helmet, as if to strike down the whole party, he shouted:

"*Vive la France!*"

The socialists slunk away, and with a quick, nervous step Malvy fled from the *poilu* and jumped aboard the train.

CHAPTER XXI

The Enemy Within Assumes New Forms

Peace Treaty Signed, but War Continues—Germany's Dream of Trade Conquest—Her Latest Propaganda Plots—The Oriental League—French Socialists Still Serve Germany—Berlin Stirs Up Irish in America—Big American Army May be Again Needed for France—The Franco-American Treaty—At the "Door of the Virgin"—Immortal France

It was the night of June 28, 1919. A few hours before in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles the delegates of the Allies and Germany had signed the treaty, which officially ended the great world war. After nearly five years of the most momentous, most stupendous conflict in the history of man, peace at last seemed to have come again.

At a table on the sidewalk in front of a glittering café near the Opera on the Boulevard des Italiens there sat an American, a Frenchman and a Britisher. All were Colonels. The American and Englishman were on "Paris leave". The Frenchman was attached to a military department with offices not far from the Seine. They had stopped only for a moment to watch the gay crowds stream by. Not since Paris went mad on "Armistice Night" had the populace seemed so happy, so on tiptoe for a frolic, as now.

Soldiers in brilliant uniforms from all the Allied armies, smartly dressed women, groups of boys singing the Marseillaise, strangers in various garbs, who had come to Paris from all parts of the world immediately after the armistice

and who still remained, and, gayest of all, the Paris shop girls, who can dress at night with an elegance peculiarly their own; all these types and many more swept by. Further away from the Opera, where the Boulevard des Italiens bends into the Boulevard Montmartre and continues on, as the Boulevard Poissonnière, the Boulevard de Bonne Nouville and the Boulevard St. Martin, merry crowds were dancing in the street to the lively strains of the violin or accordion. They danced their native dances in so quick a measure, that the few American soldiers who tried a step or two became completely bewildered. Now and then through the multitude, a huge German cannon, one of the thousands that line the Avenue des Champs-Elysées to bear witness of the old brutish power of Germany over which France had triumphed, came rumbling along, drawn by a troop of merry makers and carrying upon its ugly back a bevy of singing girls.

The three men talked of what peace meant to France, and then the American asked:

"How can France have real peace as long as the socialists remain so powerful? Because of their influence Malvy practically escaped and Caillaux still remains in prison untried. By the way, how long has he been awaiting trial? About a year and a half, I think. Is that not true?"

"Caillaux was arrested on January 14, of last year," replied the Frenchman. I remember the day perfectly, because I saw him in La Santé."

"These socialists in France are still working in the interests of Germany," continued the American. "Take Jean Longuet, Deputy of the Seine, for example. In his *Populaire* he has been doing all he can to smash the treaty. He leads in the cry, 'Do not take vengeance on Germany.' He would prevent France from obtaining from Germany any substantial reparation for all the destruction and devastation, which she has suffered at the hands of the Huns. But tell me, why does not the government try Caillaux? Is it afraid?"

"Caillaux still has many friends," replied the Frenchman. "He boasts that he will go free. He says no one will dare bring him to trial, for then, like Samson, he will pull down the house in ruins on the heads of his accusers."

"Or to use another metaphor," interrupted the Englishman. "If they try to smash his glass house, he will smash theirs?"

"Exactly, and for that reason, the best place for Caillaux during these perilous days is behind the walls of La Santé. However, we will have our national elections next fall, and then, I believe, a great many of the socialists who have played into the hands of the enemy and who are still doing everything possible to embarrass Clemenceau and disrupt the Peace Conference will be thrown out of office. The French people, as a people, are intensely patriotic. They put socialism into power before the war, when they did not believe the warning that the socialistic cry against stronger armaments and greater military preparedness was German propaganda of the most vicious and insidious sort."

"In the meantime will all the other internal enemies of France escape?" asked the American. "What has happened to Humbert, Lenoir and Desouches of *Le Journal?*"

"Humbert was acquitted. Lenoir was condemned to death. Desouches was sentenced to five years in jail," replied the French officer. "The decisions were handed down May 8."

"Humbert declared innocent!" exclaimed the American. "How could that be? Was he not mixed up with both Bolo and Lenoir? Bolo was executed and now Lenoir is proved as bad as Bolo. What is the answer?"

"The court held that Senator Humbert did not know that the money,which Bolo and Lenoir obtained from *Le Journal,* was German money. I have quite a number of papers in my apartment, which is only a few steps from here; and, if you gentlemen would like to accompany me, I should be glad to let you see them. They explain not only the *Journal* case, but

a good many other things, of which most people in England and America are uninformed and which they should know. They will show that Germany is still fighting for supremacy, that in other and still more insidious way she is scheming to disrupt the Allies, to stir up within them social and labor hatreds, to incite class jealousies, to keep all the rest of the world in a ferment while German merchants and manufacturers put their house in order and build up a new and a greater commercial and industrial empire."

A sad faced girl in Alsatian costume had worked her way through the crowds to the table, where the three men sat, and held out a picture of Clemenceau encircled with a wreath of flowers. Below was inscribed:

"The Man Who Saved France."

The French Colonel sprang to his feet, and bowing gallantly, he said:

"Yes, I want your picture. Whenever I can do honor to this greatest of Frenchman I want to do so. But why so sad, madamoiselle? Every one should be happy tonight."

"I try to be," she stammered, "but I cannot forget. The war took my father and four brothers, and——" The tears glistened in her eyes, but she conquered them. In a quieter voice, she said: "Mother died yesterday, and so tonight sister and I are selling 'Clemenceaus.' "

The three officers bought all the "Clemenceaus" in the little girl's basket, paying many times their original price; and, as she was still repeating, "*Merci beaucoup, Messieurs, merci beaucoup, Messieurs,*" they turned from the café into the throngs of the street and strolled along past the Opera into the Boulevard des Capucines. Soon the French Colonel led them into a side street, and a moment later ushered them into a big, airy room, whose windows looked out upon a balcony edged with flowers and vines. When his guests were seated on either side of a long, green-topped table, he unlocked his desk and drew out a huge, black portfolio.

"You were asking me about Humbert and the *Journal*," he began, as he sorted out a number of papers. "To understand Humbert's side of it, you should read his '*apologie*', as he called it, printed in *Le Journal*, October 4, 1918. Here, I will read an extract. Humbert said:

" 'My lifework was in danger It was the most decisive and critical moment in my career. It was in July 1915, when our field artillery was visibly dwindling owing to bursting guns, and when the Senatorial Commission had to wring from the Government the measures which were our salvation.'

"Well," continued the French Colonel. "Humbert explained that he went to Henri Letellier, propietor of *Le Journal*, and got the latter's promise that if *Le Journal* were sold, Humbert would be one of the purchasers. Pierre Lenoir and Guillaume Desouches, the other buyers, did not want Humbert in. They said their money came from Lenoir's father, an advertising contractor. Humbert investigated, and when he found that Lenoir had received a 1,000,000 franc commission for the deal he became especially suspicious. Accordingly, he simply forced himself in to save *Le Journal* from going to strange and perhaps evil hands. He finally compelled Lenoir and Desouches to sell him 1,100 of their 2,000 shares.

"To pay for these shares Humbert had to get money, and when Bolo came along with the necessary cash, he took it. Later, when he learned that Bolo's money was also German, he paid Bolo back."

"That is Humbert's story?" questioned the Britisher.

"Yes,"

"And how did Lenoir get his money from Germany?" asked the American.

"Arthur Schoeller, a director of the Schaffhausen and Derendingen spinning mills, in Zurich, Switzerland, gave Lenoir 10,000,000 francs to buy *Le Journal*. Schoeller admitted this before his fellow directors, Koch and Hoffmann.

Schoeller said Germany wanted to get *Le Journal* to uphold German economic interests after the war.

"With Lenoir in his travels to Switzerland was a Mme. d'Arlix, who knew considerable about these treasonable transactions, and who became very ill. Lt. Mornet, at Lenoir's trial, openly accused Lenoir and his mother of being more than delighted to learn that Mme. d'Arlix was about to die and therefore, could not tell her story. Let me give you Lt. Mornet's very words:

" 'The correspondence of Mme. Lenoir and her son paints the picture still blacker. It shows they were overjoyed to know of the approaching death of this wretched woman.'

"In this same correspondence there was also mention of a mysterious character, designated as the 'Red Man'. He was a Swiss, named Hurlimann, who carried money into France for Lenoir. There was also plenty of proof that Lenoir had close relations with Erb, a pro German Swiss and a friend of Erzberger and Behrenbach, a German peace propagandist.

"The trial one day produced three famous women of the *demi-monde,* Mme. Thouvenin, once a mistress of Lenoir; Mme. Beauregard, a mistress of Prince Hohenlohe, and Mme. Max Raymond, another of the same type. Mme. Thouvenin said that Lenoir once told her he had a big business affair at Berne. Mme. Beauregard testified that Desouches asked to be presented to Prince Hohenlohe, and showed her a letter proposing the formation of an anti British newspaper. Mme. Raymond, who met Lenoir through Desouches, said that Desouches talked of acquiring the *Temps*, *Figaro* and other Paris newspapers sometime in 1916."

"Why did Desouches get only five years, if he was mixed up with such a crowd of blighters?" asked the Englishman.

"Desouches is over 60 years old, and during the war he served at the front," said the Frenchman. "They let him off easy for these reasons, but only these."

Here the French Colonel pulled another package of papers out of his portfolio and untied a bright red cord.

"The roots of German corruption reach so deep beneath the soil of France, that even now we are continually digging them up," he remarked, as he opened one yellow envelope.

"Within the last few weeks, for example, evidence has been unearthed which shows that Berlin was negotiating for the purchase of the Paris newspaper, *l'Eclair*, long before the activities of Bolo or Duval.

"A letter was found, dated in December, 1914, the fifth month of the war, which purports to be a copy of a communication from Gottlieb von Jagow, then German Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Baron von der Lancken, at that time Civil Governor of Brussels. The letter said that Germany could employ Ernest Judet, editor of *l'Eclair*, for 2,000,000 francs; but that von Jagow thought the sum too great and asked von der Lancken for advice. Following the arrest of Bolo and Lenoir in 1917 Judet sold *l'Eclair* and went to Switzerland. Since then he has continued to live beyond the Alpine frontier.

"Accordingly, if we were not able to uncover this *l'Eclair* affair for five long years, we must still have many more plotters and traitors in our midst still undetected, still working evil."

"What you said about the new German offensive to confound the Allies by inciting internal insurrections interested me tremendously," said the Englishman drawing his chair closer. "In Ireland, in India, in Egypt, in all the other parts of the British Empire, where it is possible to arouse old racial antagonisms and hatreds, the Germans are now engaged in the most insidious propaganda."

"In the United States," remarked the French officer, as if to fortify still further the Englishman's statement, "Germany has long been fostering an Irish movement aimed, of course, at England. To prove my assertion, let me quote from a

letter, which Count von Bernstorff, while still German Ambassador to the United States, addressed to the Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg. It was dated Rye, N. H., U. S. A., August 26, 1916, and reads:

" 'I have already notified Your Excellency that the War Intelligence Centre, New York, has, by the direction of the Deputy General Staff, been immediately dissolved. Thereupon doubts arose as to whether the Bureau of the Military Attaché should continue to be carried on by Herr von Igle and Herr von Skal, as arranged by Herr von Papen on his departure.'

"I might add here," said the French officer, "that von Papen had been caught in various plots to blow up munition factories and issue forged passports, and the United States had demanded his recall. Herr von Skal was formerly city editor of the *Staats Zeitung*, the leading German newspaper of New York City. Herr von Igel was mixed up in the conspiracy to blow up the Welland Canal.

" 'As you are aware,' wrote von Bernstorff,' the lawsuit is still pending against Herr von Igle on account of his participation in the expedition against the Welland Canal.

" 'Herr von Igel and Herr von Skal, apart from the service of the War Intelligence Centre, have carried on the various commercial schemes introduced and already partly concluded by Herr von Papen. These have to do, among other things, with the orders placed by the Bridgeport Projectile Company, the Aetna Powder Company, the purchase of chlorine and earthenware, and the sales of arms, stored to our account in New York and the State of Washington, for use in India.

" 'The connection, moreover, in New York with the India-Irish revolutionaries has been maintained, since the departure of Herr von Papen, either by Herr von Igle or Herr von Skal. Herr von Skal keeps in touch with the Irish, for which, owing to his wide acquaintance in these circles, he is peculiarly fitted, and he also, as before, enjoys their confidence.' "

"May I ask how this most interesting letter came into your hands?" asked the American eagerly. "What a small world this is! I have the affidavit of a man, who saw von Skal at von Papen's offices, No. 60 Wall st., New York, before the United States entered the war The interview was to learn what action Germany would take to combat British control of the export of rubber and other war essentials, which the Germans wanted to get by way of Holland and Scandinavia. The subject turned to the British secret service, and von Skal said:

" 'You should see John Devoy, editor of the *Gaelic American,* No. 165 William st. Devoy knows more about British spies than anyone I can think of. Tell him that I sent you.'

"My informant saw Devoy, and said he came from von Papen's office. Devoy replied that he had a great deal of material about British secret agents, and he would try to put it together. The visitor called at a later date, but never obtained any definite information. Devoy produced only newspaper clippings. Accordingly, the letter from von Bernstorff, which you just read, interests me tremendously. Can you tell me how you got it?"

"Certainly," replied the Frenchman. "A copy was found among the papers of Captain von Papen, captured at Nazareth. After von Papen was forced to give up the post of Military Attaché under von Bernstorff, he returned to Germany and was assigned to the Near East. I guess our English friend, here, knows all about this letter and many more which were taken from the Germans in Palestine."

"In the United States," said the Britisher nodding, "a number of societies have been formed to free India and Egypt as well as Ireland from the 'English yoke,' as they put it. I am sure it would be exceedingly interesting, if some of those agitators were forced to explain how they are being financed."

"Pardon me," interrupted the Frenchman, "but I have here an article from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt,* which

shows how Germany, through socialistic agents throughout the rest of the world, intends to wage a new warfare for the ultimate triumph of German Kultur. This German newspaper puts the doctrine in the mouth of a Japanese, adding that it is of 'special interest because of its correspondence with the programme of Count Brockdorff-Rantzau'. The article reads:

" 'This convenient Japanese declares that the real cause of the war was the incomparable energy of a single Power, shut up in a grey corner of Europe and striving towards the sun. German militarism was a protest against English capitalism, whose effort to throttle the world it opposed. Militarism failed, but the new Germany must resume the old war with new weapons.

" 'These are to be found in democracy, the deadly enemy of capitalism. Germany is the country of work. England and America are the countries where capitalism makes other people work. A Japanese coming from England or America to Germany at once feels that he has come home from foreign lands. The world is not yet ripe for international socialism, and Germany is the leader of national socialism.

" 'She will speedily convert Russia to the same idea, and then the Balkan States, Egypt, India, Mexico, and the South American States will join the union of nationalist socialism, led by Germany, to destroy Anglo-Saxon capitalism. Japan must cease to follow England and adopt the German ideal. As a first testimony of her good faith she will return Tsingtau to China. Then, presumably with the help of Germany, Japan will assist China to throw out English capitalism.'

"There you are," said the Britisher. "The old Germany, the imperialistic Germany, is still unconquered. The men who were most active in the old propaganda plots and who proved that propaganda is often more powerful than cannon are still at the head of German affairs. Count von Bernstorff, for example, who did so much to poison the minds of

Americans through various newspapers which were his dupes, or which through sales of bonds and other secret subsidies prostituted themselves completely to German gold, is still powerful in the councils of the new Germany."

"Germany today is spending more money for propaganda to defeat the peace treaty, to break up the League of Nations, to embarass the Allies in every conceivable way, than ever before," interposed the French officer. "One of the first acts of the Weimer National Assembly after the armistice was to plan a world wide propaganda campaign. On March 29 it voted an unlimited appropriation for the further extension of a commercial news service abroad. This money is now being used to aid the Sinn Feiners and the Egyptian and Indian nationalists. Proof has been obtained by representatives of the Allied governments in Switzerland. Indeed, the same agencies that Germany used in Switzerland during the war to spread the pestilence of defeatism throughout France and Italy are now seeking to infect the French, the Italians, the British and the Americans with these new plagues.

"Only a glance at some of the Swiss papers shows how boldly these propagandists are operating. For example, here is an article from the German Swiss *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* of May 27, on 'The Situation in Ireland'. It says that Ireland must break away from the bondage of England and become a republic. The article is signed, the '*Komitee der Freunde für Irische Freiheit.*' (The Committee of the Friends of Irish Freedom).

"At Berne there has been established an Oriental League. In it have been combined all the secret Moslem and Hindu nationalistic organizations, which hitherto have been working separately to break up the British Empire. Among them is the 'Pro India' group, of which a number of leaders were recently sentenced in Zurich for importing bombs into Switzerland under the direction of the German General staff.

"The purpose of the new organization is to promote a world wide revolution of Mohammedanism against England and France, as soon as the peace treaty has been ratified by the various Allied countries.

"The master mind behind the Oriental League is Baron von Wesendonck, at one time Director of the Oriental Department of the Berlin Foreign Office. Assisting him are three Young Turks, Enver, Talaat and Djemal. Branches have been founded in India, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Persia, Turco-Tartary, Egypt, Algeria and Morrocco."

"You spoke of the instigation of labor troubles in Allied countries by German propaganda," said the American. "Have you proof that the epidemic of strikes and lockouts in the United States has been incited by German agents?"

"I can only speak of France," replied the Frenchman, "and here there is proof aplenty. The same French labor leaders who tried to cripple French munition factories and other war manufactories before the armistice are now spreading the flames of socialism and Bolshevism throughout all our working classes."

"How far did these labor agitators succeed in working for the defeat of France?" asked the Britisher.

"In the Department of the Loire and neighboring industrial regions the trade unionists voted a general strike and a revolution, unless France signed an immediate armistice. That was on May 23 1918, four days before the third great German drive, which smashed through the allied front for thirty miles between Soissons and Rheims. It was the most critical time of the whole war.

"Forty-one Syndicalists, nearly all belonging to the Loire, were finally brought to trial before the court martial at Clermont-Ferrand. Chief of the accused was Andrieux, secretary of the Metal Union of Firminy. First arrested in December, 1917, he was released. Thereupon, he joined hands with M. Fagcollet, secretary of the Union of the Trade

Unions of the Loire, and M. Pericat, secretary of the Trade Union Committee of Defense in Paris, in a most vigorous pacifist movement."

"But that was during the war," said the American. "Who is making trouble now? Who is responsible for your present labor outbreaks?"

"Such socialists as Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx, the founder of German socialism, of whom you, yourself, spoke a little while ago," replied the French officer. "Longuet, Deputy of the Seine, and M. Frossard, Secretary General of the Socialist Party, work together. Only the other day these two men were arrested at Folkestone, England, by the British police. They were on their way to the annual conference of the British Labor Party at Southport. The British authorities, as Mr. Short declared in the House of Commons, had obtained proofs of a Bolshevik movement in England. Let me read you what the *Echo de Paris* said about it", and picking up a newspaper from the table, he read:

" 'Longuet and Frossard have been treated not as defenders of the proletariat but of the German revolution and peace, not as labor delegates but as international agitators.

" 'For days and weeks at their meetings and in their newspapers these men have pleaded the German cause. Continually they cry for peace terms most favorable to the Huns.'

"In the *Action Française* of yesterday, Léon Daudet reproduced passages of a letter in which the German naval attaché at Madrid said he could 'approach at all times' the French socialists through Longuet. The attaché was quoted as asking if he should continue the propaganda and keep in touch with the French socialists to obtain for Germany acceptable conditions of peace. Daudet also wrote:

" 'Longuet with his friends Cachin and Brizon was plotting a new campaign of economic and political strikes which

would lead to a general Bolshevik strike. It was to take effect upon the promulgation of the treaty.'

"Two documents are in the possession of the French military authorities," continued the French Colonel, "which reveal still further how bold the new German propagandists have become. The first document showed that on November 21, 1918, ten days after the armistice, the German military attaché at Madrid proposed to Berlin a plan of Bolshevik revolution in France. 'If impossible to start an insurrection all over France,' he added, 'try only a section of the country. This will be enough to frighten the Clemenceau government and force it to recognize the wishes of the socialists concerning the conditions of peace.'

"The second document was seized in Poland. It was an official German diplomatic paper, number 1912, in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs urged the Minister of War to recruit Germans who were able to speak French and English, for a special course of instruction at the German War Ministry. There they should receive all the training and instruction necessary for Bolshevik propaganda in France and England. It was signed, 'Reusche, Capt. Stopp.' "

"The war is by no means over," remarked the Britisher.

"Exactly what Clemenceau said," returned the Frenchman. "Let me read you what he stated recently on this very subject:

" 'There is only a lull in the storm. Recent disclosures have enabled us to look deeper into the purposes of the enemy than heretofore. It was not purely a dream of military domination on the part of Prussia. It was a definitely calculated conspiracy to exterminate France industrially and commercially, as well as in the field of battle. In that effort the German bankers and manufacturers joined the General Staff.

" 'The exposures of Dr. Muehlon, of the Krupp Works, and of Kurt Eisner at the Berne Socialist Conference make

this clear. And this fact also explains many of the activities of the German armies, which at first we could not understand. We now see why they stole the machinery from our factories, why they destroyed the coal mines of Lens, why they wrought such wanton devastation on French territory, even in retreat. It was then thought to be the tactics of military frightfulness. Instead, it was part of a deliberate plan of commercial imperialism.

" 'And in this phase of the war Germany has not been unsuccessful. The industrial life of France has been so wrecked that its resusitation is most difficult, while by reason of her military surrender, Germany has saved her factories intact and ready for immediate and efficient operation. Industrially and commercially Germany conquered France. For the present the victory is with the Hun.' "

"But the military power of Germany has been crushed," said the American, as if asking a question.

"Clemenceau does not think so," replied the French officer. "He says, 'There are features of the military triumph over Germany, which are most disquieting for France. With the British army demobilized, the American army home, there might be a reopening of the military debate by Germany, which would embarass us, were it not for the assurance of President Wilson.' "

"Well, under the Franco-American treaty, which President Wilson is taking back to Washington, the United States is bound to assist France in case of any unprovoked act of aggression directed against her by Germany," replied the American. "For that reason, the United States has become peculiarly interested in the internal affairs of France. If the French socialists succeed in dividing France against herself and Germany takes advantage of such a situation to rebuild her military machine, the United States in order to comply with the Franco-American treaty must maintain or keep in reserve a large, well trained army."

"If the League of Nations had the full and undivided support of the United States and the other Allies, the league itself could keep Germany in check and relieve both England and the United States of maintaining large armaments for the peace of the world", said the Britisher. "If the League of Nations is destroyed, as Germany and her friends desire, the responsibility of preventing the next war will fall largely upon the English and French speaking peoples. Therefore, I cannot understand why some American Senators would tear the treaty to pieces, why they would smash the League of Nations and alienate all the rest of the Allies.

"England has made a treaty with France, almost identical with the Franco-American treaty. We too stand ready to aid France, should she ever again be in danger. Some of your Senators say we are compelled to protect France, because she is so near us and in protecting France we are protecting England. Does distance make any difference in this age of aeroplanes and submarines? Were not German U boats sinking American ships off the American coast?

"Tell me, therefore, why do these American Senators cry out against the Paris plan of a union of all nations desirous of a world peace,— a plan which can be bettered by experience,—but which should be put into effect as soon as possible, or the ever fermenting forces of social unrest may engulf us in a worse struggle than the one through which we have just passed? Do these Republican Senators know they are playing into the hands of the Huns and the Bolsheviks?"

"They believe in America first," replied the American.

"But is that not a very selfish attitude?" asked the Britisher. "Did it not originate in Berlin? Does the United States want to have all other nations believe that she was willing to play the game until she saw the first chance to quit? Or phrase it another way. Does the United States which lives in a wooden house like all the other nations, very inflammable, as the last war has taught us, very close to the other wooden

houses of France, England and the rest of Europe, wish to say to her neighbors?

" 'My house first. I helped fight the fire as long as I was in immediate danger. There are several houses still on fire. Russia, Siberia, Poland, Hungary, the Balkans, Asia Minor are still burning. The flames may spread, but that is none of my business. Only my own house interests me.' "

" 'America first' has been cried so loudly by certain politicians and demogogue newspapers that Europe does not hear the voice of the American people," replied the American Colonel. "The United States has already proved its utter unselfishness by throwing all its power of money and men into the conflict. It asked nothing for this supreme sacrifice. It made no secret treaties, as some of the other Allies did, to get this seaport, that group of islands, this protectorate or that sphere of influence. No. It went to Europe, as the crusaders went to Palestine, for a great and good purpose,—the destruction of autocracy,—and if France is ever again in danger as she was in 1914, the United States again will plunge into the fight just as unselfishly, just as whole heartedly, as before. Whether or not the 'America first' Senators kill the Franco-American treaty, the people of the United States will live up to every letter of it. The ancient friendship between France and America was never stronger or on a surer foundation, than now."

"Bravo," cried the Frenchman leaping from his chair, and fairly embracing his guest. The Britisher also rose to his feet. "Here, here," he exclaimed. "Let us all join hands, for if our three nations will only stick together, we shall indeed have made the world safe for democracy."

"And let it be real democracy," added the American.

As the three Colonels again gripped hands, the clock struck midnight.

"What," exclaimed the English officer, "Can it be twelve o'clock? Our talk has been so engrossing, that I almost for-

got an appointment with some members of my staff at the Hotel Majestic. I must be going."

"But to meet again," interjected the American. "When and where shall it be? I want to learn more of the new plots of the 'Enemy Within', an enemy which is again at work in our very midst, combatting us in every conceivable form."

"Well," said the English Colonel. "I am going back to London, Monday. Can we not meet again tomorrow? In the morning I want to attend service at Notre Dame. I am not a churchman, but I always find an inspiration in the sublime cathedral."

"Let us meet you there," replied the American. "Just the thing. I too have been wanting to see Notre Dame again."

And so it was agreed that all three should meet at the *Porte de la Vierge*, (the Door of the Virgin), the most northern of the three great entrances of the cathederal, at ten o'clock.

The American Colonel arrived at the appointed place a little before the time. He stood beneath the sculptured archway and watched the black line of women entering. Although upon the battle field he had gone into the jaws of death, although he had fought over heaps of dead and dying men, yet never before had he realized so profoundly the ghastliness of war. Everyone who passed him walked beneath the shadow of the grave.

Nevertheless, in the faces of these mourners, he saw a calm faith, an undying hopefulness, which filled him with wonder. With mute lips the women seemed to say:

"They have killed our fathers.

"They have killed our brothers.

"They have killed our husbands.

"They have killed our sons.

"But France, they cannot kill."

As one woman approached him, a white paper fluttered to his feet. He was too absorbed to notice it, until she had en-

tered the door and was lost in the great shadowy depths far beyond.

It was a letter; and before he realized what he was doing, he read:

"Dearest Marie: The wound was too deep. I can only tell you I am happy in knowing I could fight for France. I love you and the baby with all my soul. God will care for you both.

Your Jean."

The letter was dated September 20, 1914, the eighth week of the war. The American was just about to renew his search, when a figure in heavy crepe, leading a little child, hurried out of the "Door of the Virgin," and gazed around in a frightened, bewildered way at the long black line, that was still entering. He knew in an instant that it was the "Marie" of the letter. He ran to her side and held out the little piece of paper.

"Oh, how I thank you, Monsieur," the woman cried, and kissing the crumpled letter, she thrust it back into her bosom.

END

APPENDIX

Page 7

"Fifteen million francs". Before the war, about $3,000,000. On July 1, 1914, the franc was worth 19 cents. The exchange rate was 5.15 francs to the dollar. On September 8, 1919, the franc was worth only 12 cents, American money, the exchange rate being 8.32 francs to a dollar.

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"What they feared was the publication of the report by Victor Fabre on the Rochette swindle and the full exposure of Caillaux's alliance with Germany."

Gaston Calmette obtained possession of copies of telegrams between Baron Schoen, German Ambassador at Paris, and Bethmann-Hollweg, Chancellor of Germany, discussing Caillaux's efforts to surrender France to German interests by means of secret negociations during the Agadir embroglio in 1911, when Caillaux was Premier. These dispatches show that Caillaux was willing to cede vast African possessions to Germany, but feared the wrath of French public opinion. They also show that every effort was made to keep Caillaux's machinations away from the knowledge of Jules Cambon, then French Ambassador at Berlin.

When Caillaux learned that Calmette in 1914 was preparing to publish these telegrams, he persuaded Premier Doumergue to ask Calmette to desist. Calmette was told that their publication would endanger the safety of France. Calmette replied, that if it was a question of patriotism, he would not make the information public.

During the trial of Mme. Caillaux for the murder of Calmette, M. Herbaux, the Prosecutor General, who was a friend of Caillaux and who had been appointed to succeed another prosecutor hostile to the husband of the murderess, sought to suppress this phase of the affair. He said he was authorized to deny the existence of the Schoen Bethmann-Hollweg telegrams.

This all important correspondence, however, has at last come to light. The copies which Calmette possessed were turned over by his estate to President Poincaré. They were placed in the Caillaux *dossier*, which was produced before the Commission of Inquiry of the High Court, which is to try Caillaux. Because these copies are of green paper, they have come to be called *Les Documents Verts*, (The Green Documents). The three most important telegrams among these papers, which it is now possible to reproduce, read as follows:

(Document No. 1)

"No. 210. Secret.

"Paris, July 26, 1911, 15th hour.

"Foreign Affairs, Berlin.

"Fondere, who yesterday and today had long conversations with

Caillaux, says that Caillaux stated the cession of the whole coast of the Congo was altogether impossible. Public opinion would interpret it as an abasement of France, and as for Caillaux, himself, it would mean political suicide.

"Caillaux pretends to despair of the possibility of coming to an agreement with us, and adds that he is beginning to see the future grow dark. In the discussion between Fondere and Caillaux relative to compensations, the President of the Council (Caillaux) called attention to the resistance which England might offer to important territorial concessions made to us (Germany).

"But at the same time he expressed the opinion that France would cede to us, even against the wish of Great Britain, the territory of the French Congo east of the Kameroon with the Sangha as a new frontier on the south as far as the Congo River. Besides, Caillaux has also expressed the opinion....that France through a secret treaty could cede to us her right of preëmption to the Belgian Congo. As for Togo, France thinks it is out of the question, because the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has declared to Cambon that our Bureau of Colonies could not consent to the relinquishment of that colony.

"In order to make this agreement look as much as possible like a colonial barter instead of a concession wrested by Germany at Agadir, Caillaux wished to have from Germany as a counterpart for France the most northern extremity of the Kameroon on the River Tchad and another very small territory north of the Togo.

"Thus, at a later favorable moment, we could perhaps, in the opinion of Caillaux, exchange the coast of the French Congo for the Togo. The reply has been made to M. Fondere that no agreement on such a basis could be discussed. Fondere thinks that Caillaux will perhaps compromise finally in the following manner.

"Cession of the south coast of Spanish Guinea with the port of Muni, which has great future possibilities, as far as a little to the north of Libreville. Such an arrangement England would oppose with all her might. The southern frontier in this case would reach as far as Ogooue toward the south east, which is nearly as far as Franceville. Thence it would run along the Alima River.

"Fondere may see Caillaux at any moment. Caillaux appreciates him as a colonial expert. He is placing himself at our disposal. In pretending that the cession of the entire coast of the Congo would greatly irritate French public opinion, which has already been apparently excited against us on several occasions by England, Caillaux, in my opinion, is sincere."

The document is signed, "Schoen," German Ambassador at Paris.

(Document No. 2)

Paris, July 27, 1911.

No. 224

Secret. Foreign Affairs, Berlin.

"Caillaux has instructed Fondere to advise our Embassy that he is animated with a sincere desire to have an understanding with us, and that he would prefer to bring about an entente on a big scale, settling all the difficulties which have arisen between us in recent years. This would help him justify himself before the public in making this cession

of colonial territory. Thus he can show the eminent advantage of smoothing out all old time points of dispute.

"The broader the entente will be, the more objects of different kinds it will embrace, and the more France will show herself willing to accede to colonial concessions; while on the other hand a barter limited to Morocco and the Congo would cause here a sense of humiliation and could hardly be carried out in a form satisfactory to us.

"Caillaux asks that we, Germans, ask ourselves just whatwe want in settling every point of dispute. He consents to—although these are trivial concessions—a German president for the Ottoman debt, a thirty per cent. retrocession for the Bagdad railroad, and an arrangement covering the railroads of the Orient.

"He has also considered the cession to us of the French possessions in Oceania.

"I am sending you tomorrow noon the counsellor of this embassy to make you a verbal report.

"Caillaux earnestly requests that none of these overtures be known to Cambon.

Schoen."

(Document No. 3).

"Berlin, November 14, 1911.

"No. 245, Rep. au. Teleg. No. 369.

"Your Excellency will be kind enough to give Caillaux my sincere thanks for the admiration which he has manifested in regard to my speech in the Reichstag. I believe I am in accord with the Minister (Caillaux) in asking that the conclusion of the Morocco negociations should offer a basis for a satisfactory settlement of Franco-German relations. I shall also remember the aid which Caillaux has given personally, as I am aware, to the happy conclusion of the negociations.

Bethmann Hollweg."

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"*A delegation of United Socialists*". Herman Müller, Foreign Minister of the new German Republic, who with Johannes Bell, Minister of Communications and Colonies, signed the Peace Treaty, visited Paris on the very eve of the war to obtain the promise of the French Socialists, that they would refuse to vote war credits in case of a conflict between France and Germany. He arrived in Paris August 1, 1914. At Brussels he had been joined by Lt. Henry de Man, a Belgian labor leader, and Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau. All three went to the French capital together.

Müller talked with the Socialist Deputies first in the Chamber of Deputies and later at the office of the Socialist newspaper, *l'Humanité* According to de Man, in the *New York Times*, of June 29, 1918, Müller told the French Socialists he had been sent by the German Social Democracy "to make a last attempt to prevent the war by deciding on a common course of action by the French and German Socialists. He had no authority to pledge his party to any definite course, as the exact circumstances at the time of the prospective meeting of the Reichstag could not yet be foreseen, but he was authorized to explain the situation and his party's views at the time when he had left Berlin (July 31). In the light of this information he said the French Socialists

might find it easier to determine their own attitude, should the question of war credits be put to them. He would take back to Berlin the information which they would give him.

"He gave an optimistic account of the state of affairs in Germany He said he knew nothing about a general mobilization of the German Army, the rumor of which had been spread in Paris that morning. The state of danger of war' (*Kriegsgefahrzustand*), which had been declared on July 31, he called a comparatively harmless measure. As Herr Haase had done at the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels four days earlier, he laid much stress on what he called the underhand encouragement given by the Imperial Chancellor to the anti-war demonstrations and the alleged desire of the Kaiser to maintain peace.

"As to the Social Democratic Party, Müller said, it would on no account vote in favor of any war credits. *'Dass man für die Kriegskredite stimmt, das halte ich für ausgeschlossen* was his definite, repeated statement. A fraction, probably a small minority, might favor abstention from voting, with a view to the danger from Russia, but Müller declared that he himself did not share the latter view and that he thought an unanimous vote against the war credits probable, especially if the French Socialists decided to follow a similar course.

"Discussion made it appear that the French showed little inclination to follow this suggestion. Müller got plenty of evidence—notably from Marcel Sembat and Pierre Renaudel—that the earnest desire of the French Government to maintain peace and, should France be attacked, to remain on the defensive, was above suspicion. Reference was made to the decision of the Viviani Cabinet to withdraw all French troops within ten kilometres from the frontier, so as to avoid provocations and clearly demonstrate France's good will. Müller was also told of the repeated attempts of the French Government to induce Russia to a similar policy of moderation, attempts in which Jean Jaures, who had been assassinated the night before, had taken a leading part until a few minutes before his death. Under these circumstances the majority of the French Socialists would not refuse the war credits which the Government would need should France be attacked. A minority seemed to favor abstention as a means to demonstrate that the Socialist Party refused any responsibility for the consequences of a system of international competitive armament which it had always opposed.

"A lengthy discussion followed, in which Müller repeatedly insisted on the desirability of a common policy. His main argument was the view which had always been advocated by August Bebel, that the distinction between the attacking power and the attacked was obsolete. The history of all modern wars, he said, showed that they were due to general causes inherent to the economic development of capitalism in its imperialistic stage, and that it was usually impossible to know the truth about the actual incidents that led to the declaration of war until it was all over. (This argument, by the way, was repeated by Hermann Müller at the International Socialist Conference in Berne in February last, to justify his party's refusal to admit Germany's guilt as the attacking power.) Consequently, he could see no reason why the attitude of the French Socialists should be different from that of their German comrades.

"No formal decision was arrived at, but the "information" Müller had to take home was to the effect that the French Socialists were not to be induced to refuse their Government the war credits, and that the theonly chance of a possible common policy consisted in abstention from voting on both sides."

Müller quit France that night and boarded a train at Brussels for Berlin two hours before the Germans handed their ultimatum to Belgium.

On August 4, 1914, the German Social Democracy completely repudiated Müller's representations and in a session of the Reichstag that same day voted the war credits which the Kaiser had demanded.

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"*President Poincaré*". Raymond Poincaré is the eighth President of the Third French Republic. The others were Marshal Mac Mahon, 1875, resigned 1879; Jules Grèvy, 1879; Sadi Carnot, 1887, murdered, 1894; Casimir Périer, 1894, resigned after six months; Felix Faure, 1895, died, 1899; Emile Loubet, 1899; Armand Fallieres, 1906. President Poincaré became President in 1913.

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"*The election of May* 10, 1914". The Temps grouped the different factions thus, "Briandists, including a part of the Independent Socialists, Independent Radicals and Republicans of the Left, 177; Ministerialists, including United Radicals (Caillaux's party), Modemate Socialists and some Independents, 180; Extreme Socialists (followers of Jaurès) 102; United Republicans and Progressives, 69; the Right, including the Conservatives, Royalists, Bonapartists, Catholics and some Independents, 73." The *Temps* estimated that 308 out of the 602 members were in favor of the three year military service.

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"*The Caporetto disaster.*" "During the summer of 1917 the Second Italian army was confronted by Austrian regiments composed largely of war weary Socialists. During that summer skilful German propagandists operating from Spain had sown the seeds of pacifism throughout Italy. This was made easy by the distress then existing particularly in the villages where food was scanty and complaints against the conduct of the war were numerous. The propaganda extended from the civilian population to the army, and its channel was directed maintoward the Second Army encamped along the Isonzo River.

"As a consequence of the pacifists' preachments both by word of mouth and document, the Second Army was ready for the friendly approaches that came from the front lines of the Austrians only a few yards away. Daily communication was established and at night the opposing soldiers fraternized generally. The Russian doctrine, that an end of the fighting would come if the soldiers agreed to do no more shooting spread through the Italian trenches.

"This was all a part of a plan carefully mapped out by the German High Command. When the infection had spread, the fraternizing Austrian troops were withdrawn from the front trenches and German shock troops took their places. On Oct. 24, 1917, these troops attacked in

force. The Italians in the front line, mistaking them for the friendly Austrians, waived a greeting. German machine guns and rifles replied with a deadly fire, and the great flanking movement had begun. So well had the Germans played their game that the Italians lost more than 250,000 prisoners and 2,300 guns the first week. The Italian positions at Tolmino and Plezzo were captured and the whole Italian force was compelled to retreat along a seventy mile front from the Carnic Alps to the sea. The most important point gained by the enemy in its early assault was the village of Caporetto on the Upper Isonzo, The Italian retreat at places degenerated into a rout and it was not until the Italians, reinforced by French and British, reached the Piave River, that a stand was finally made." (March's History of the World War.)

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"The doctrines of Zimmerwald and Kienthal". At Zimmerwald and Kienthal socialist congresses were held, where pacifists, active in spreading German propaganda, met and discussed campaign plans. According to Charles Edward Russell, in "Bolshevism and the United States", Lenine was the master mind of Zimmerwald, and adds: "The gnats and wasps that issued from that place and buzzed about the heads of the Allied statesmen swarmed out of plots of his (Lenine's) devising.

"In September, 1915, when von Mackensen was crushing Serbia, when the western front was hopelessly deadlocked and the cause of the Allies was almost at its lowest, he called to meet at Zimmerwald, a small town near Berne, a congress of labor and radical representatives from all the belligerant and neutral nations. Germany and Austria responded, wearing bells; two notorious defeatists and semi anarchists came from France; Lenine, himself, purported to represent Russia; several persons were on hand from neutral countries. And there amid all these delegates, met ostensibly to discuss peace, sat unidentified no less a person than Azeff, the most celebrated, most skilful and most unscrupulous of all the police agents of the old Russia régime.

"The conference announced a program for immediate peace. Nothing could be simpler. The workers in every belligerent country were to go on a general strike until their respective governments should be willing to sign a peace treaty. Whether Germany was to surrender the territory she had grabbed was not made clear, but anyway, no annexations, no indemnities, not even for mutilated Belgium.

"That was the origin of that famous phrase that presently went echoing around the world. I have no doubt Lenine himself invented it. In the original it was 'no annexations, no contributions', but, as nobody was able to guess what that might mean, those that helped to speed it on its way amended it into its more familiar form.

"But Zimmerwald, while it made trouble, failed to make peace. The next year he (Lenine) repeated the attempt with a similar congress at Kienthal, similar attended and with similar results."

One of the French delegates to Zimmerwald was Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx, the founder of German socialism. Longuet is a Paris Deputy. (See Chapter XXI.)

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"We shall have our national elections next fall". There were no

elections during the war. Deputies are elected for four years, but those elected in May, 1914, are still in office. At the next elections, which will be held during the closing months of 1919, the entire Chamber of Deputies, at least one third the Senate, and the President of the Republic are to be elected. The Senators are elected for nine years, one third being chosen every three years. The President is elected by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, sitting in special joint session at Versailles.

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"Lenoir was condemned to death." The dramatic escape early this morning of Pierre Lenoir from death at the hands of a firing squad in the Vincennes woods was the subject of lively conversations in political circles today. Lenoir had been tried with Senator Humbert and other defendants for having communicated military intelligence to the enemy and was sentenced to death.

The firing squad already had taken its place and preparations were being made to escort Lenoir out to meet death from a volley of the riflemen when the condemned man begged to be confronted with former Premier Caillaux, who is under charges similar to those on which Lenoir was convicted. The execution was suspended and the condemned man remained in his cell....

In connection with the reprieve of Lenoir it may be remembered that Bolo Pacha succeeded in postponing his execution ten days while making revelations.

(Associated Press dispatch, published in the New York Herald of September 20, 1919.)

On Oct. 24, 1919, Lenoir was executed at La Sante. He was suffering from paralysis in both legs, and had to be carried to the place of execution.

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"Caillaux still remains in prison untried." Caillaux was locked up in La Santé, January 14, 1918. On July 26, 1919, the Commission of the High Court, which had been holding hearings, examining witnesses, inspecting documents, held the final interrogatory of the accused. The formalities prior to the trial were thereupon ended.

On July 30, the trial of Caillaux was recommended by Theodore Lescouvre, Attorney General of the French Republic, in a report filed with the commission of inquiry. It was then stated that Lt. Mornet, who prosecuted Bolo and the *Bonnet Rouge* gang, would assist M. Lescouvre in the prosecution of Caillaux.

On August 2 Edouard Ignace, Under Secretary for Military Justice, declared that all documents relating to the prosecuion of Caillaux had been turned over to the High Court. His statement was in reply to the petition of counsel for Caillaux to Premier Clemenceau, that letters between Deputy Attorney General Becker of New York State and M. Jusserand, French Ambassador to the United States, be incorporated in the Caillaux *dossier*. M. Ignace also added that the Becker-Jusserand correspondence had not reached him, and suggested that the petitioners were free to apply for its production by legal means.

On September 9 the *Temps* announced that Caillaux would be per-

mitted to leave La Santé for a sanitarium. His counsel had applied for his removal from prison on the ground that his health had been impaired by anxiety and long confinement. On the same day, Walter Duranty, Paris correspondent of the *New York Times* cabled:

"It is possible that the Government may use Caillaux's ill health which is genuine enough, whether or not it is due, as his friends assert, to the year and a half confinement he has undergone, as a pretext for letting the case drop altogether.

"His friends—who are more numerous and much more devoted than may be realized in America—say that some such conclusion as this would be fully in accord with Clemenceau's action in keeping his most dangerous opponent a year and a half in prison without trial, because he knew that the prosecution would utterly break down if put to a real test."

On September 13, Caillaux was transferred from La Santê to a private hospital at Neuilly, suburb of Paris.

On September 16, the commission of inquiry of the High Court, sitting as a tribunal of accusation, ordered Caillaux to face charges of intriguing with the enemy to bring about a premature and dishonorable peace. It was decided to discharge Louis Loustalot and Paul Comby, who were mixed up in Caillaux's dealings with Cavallini.

On October 23 the Senate, as a High Court, refused to grant Caillaux his petition for provisional liberty and set his trial for Jan. 14. 1920.

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"How can France have real peace as long as the socialists remain so powerful?" There were various groups of socialists in the Chamber of Deputies during the war, which varied in size and strength continually. Their principles ranged from those of true democracy to the extremist views of Bolshevism. Because of the combination of some and the splitting of other factions on different occasions, it may be said that the socialistic element in the Chamber for the last five years has been in a constant state of flux. The United Socialists, formerly led by Jaurês, have held together with the greatest cohesion. Recently, however, a number of them have become alarmed at the radical tendency of their leaders, and have declared that the present policy of their party would plunge France into the abyss of a proletariat dictatorship.

For example, M. Nectoux, a socialist Deputy of Paris, and M. Erlich, a socialist candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in 1914, resigned from the United Socialist party on August 29, 1919, because, they said, its doctrines too much resembled those of Lenine.

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"Germany is still fighting for supremacy,.... scheming..to incite class jealousies, to keep all the rest of the world in a ferment..".

"For a number of years prior to our entry into the world war agents of the German Government persistently carried on a great propaganda in the United States, the purpose of which was to promote the in-

terests of the German Government and to create a sentiment in this country in favor of that Government to the prejudice of this nation. Every activity which tended to weaken our Government or to arouse antagonisms that would demoralize the unity and morale of our population and every movement that was aimed at involving us in foreign disputes or domestic difficulties was encouraged and frequently financed by the agents and representatives of the German Government.

"Today the forces of anarchy and violence are utilizing the financial resources plundered by them from the European people they have succeeded in exploiting, to import into this country money, literature, and hired agents for the purpose of promulgating the doctrine of force, violence, assassination, confiscation, and revolution.

"As an effect of these activities there has appeared in this country a large group of persons who advocate the overthrow of all organized government, and especially the Government of the United States, who favor revolutionary movements, repudiate the Constitution of the United States, and refuse to respect our national emblem and our governmental institutions. There are found among the leaders of this group many aliens who unhesitatingly abuse the hospitality which this country has extended to them and who because of their leadership are able to retard the real Americanization of the more ignorant residents possessing similar racial characteristics. These persons encourage and maintain a solidarity of the people of the several foreign tongues which is used to create and incite a class hatred that is quickly absorbed by and incorporated into the revolutionary movement led by them. The Alien element in this country is the most susceptible and is the first to adopt violence as an effective weapon for supremacy.

"More reprehensible than the alien element is that class of American citizens, whether native born or naturalized, who having obliged themselves to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, lightly disregard their responsibilities and promulgate the doctrine that the form of Government established by the Constitution should be overthrown and that a Government responsive to a class rather than to all the people should be forcibly substituted therefore. *It is a significant fact that almost without exception the persons in this country who are today advocating revolution and violence and all of the suffering, pain, and bloodshed incident to such a movement, have during the great struggle of the last two years undertaken to handicap, check, and obstruct in every way possible the military operations of this government under the pretext that their consciences would not permit them to take the life of their fellow-men even in war.* The destruction of life, property, and Government has no horrors to them when directed toward the overthrow of the Government of the United States, but the use of force in defense of our country they conscientiously object to."

(Report of U. S. Senate Committee, signed by Senators Lee S. Overman, chairman; William H. King, Josiah O. Walcott, Knute Nelson, and Thomas Sterling. Made public, June 15, 1919).

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"Berlin was negotiating for the purchase of the Paris newspaper l'Eclair."

When the Germans left Brussels, they abandoned many official papers

among which were copies of telegrams and letters between von Jagow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and von der Lancken, Civil Governor of Brussels. Agents of the *Sureté Nationale* of Paris, coöperating with the Belgian authorities, obtained access to these documents and uncovered a mass of information revealing various efforts of Germany to corrupt French opinion through the intermediation of French editors and writers.

One set of papers showed that Alphonse Lenoir, a Paris publicity agent, had proposed to Germany the plan of purchasing *Le Journal.* In one communication to von der Lancken von Jagow explained that Lenoir was a friend of Caillaux, "and had been mixed up in the Agadir affair, in which you yourself took part." Alphonse Lenior was the father of Pierre Lenoir, who was tried with Humbert and Desouches, and found guilty of treason.

Proof was also found that Ernest Judet, editor of *l'Eclair* had not only been negociating for the sale of his newspaper to the enemy for 2,000,000 francs, but had visited the Pope for the purpose of preventing the Vatican from relinquishing his neutral attitude. Mention was made of a dinner at which Judet and Caillaux conferred at great length.

On August 24, the military Governor of Paris ordered the prosecution of Judet for intelligence with the enemy. Judet had managed a Paris journal, called *l'Eclair* for many years. In 1917 he sold this newspaper and went to Switzerland. At the time he was criticized for having given his children into the hands of German educators aud of being intimate with various personages who were enemies of France.

The Judet affair, however, had never come to the official notice of the French government, until a telegram was discovered among the papers left by von der Lancken in Brussels, which read:

DISPATCH

"From the office of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, 11,12,1914, 1 a.m., to the High Commissioner, von der Lancken, Brussels. (Arrived, 11, 12, 1914, 9 a.m.)

"After receiving certain news from Switzerland, one must form the opinion that the situation is less favorable for us now than four weeks ago. A change of conditions will not be possible without a great German success and a campaign of propaganda more to the point. To accomplish this I would wish to engage Judet. He at first declined the offers that have been made to him through an intermediary; but finally, he consented. He said that he would have to abandon the editorshhip of his paper which represented a value of 1,500,000 francs; and that he risked losing a private fortune of 500,000 francs. He accordingly, demanded 2,000,000 francs. For that sum he would devote all his energy to our cause.

"This figure seems to me unreasonable. Let me have your opinion. I stay here until Monday.

(Signed) Jagow".

Jules Rateau, in *l'Avenir*, in telling of an interview with the Pope, June 2, 1915, wrote:

"During the three quarters of an hour that we talked, the Pope defended the policy of neutrality followed by the Vatican since the beginning of the war; and when I laid special stress on the atrocities committed by the Germans, the Pope exclaimed:

"'But how can you wish me to do differently. I am the Pope not only of France but all Christendom. Therefore, how can I cast a deciding vote. How can I distinguish justice and injustice in your fearful struggle. Why, in that same place in which you are sitting, some days ago, a Frenchman, a very important Frenchman told me that in France they were shooting German prisoners.'

"The next day I learned from some Italian journalists that M. Judet recently had had several secret interviews with the Pope."

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"In the United States," remarked the French officer, "Germany has long been fostering an Irish movement."

Proof of the way Germany stirred up the Irish in the United States during the war is furnished by the report of the sub-committee of the U. S. Senate Judiciary committee, of which Senator Lee S. Overman is chairman, made public June 15, 1919. It told of the activities of Dr. Albert, the fiscal agent of the German Empire in New York, and Dr. Fuehr, head of its press bureau. It also said:

"In addition to the German Information News Service, the bureau maintained what was known as the Irish Press and News Service. This was maintained in separate offices at 42 West Forty-second Street, New York City, but was under the control of Dr. Fuehr and his agents. The active manager of the Irish Press and News Service for the Germans was one James K. Maguire, who, with his corps of assistants, sent out news service bulletins two or three times a week to eighteen or twenty newspapers, in many of which he personally was interested, and also to various daily newspapers. Copies of all propaganda material supplied by the Irish Press and News Service were sent to Dr. Fuehr.

"Dr. Albert's part in the propaganda work of the German representatives was to attend conferences with Dr. Fuehr, Dr. Hale, and others, advise on the general plan of propaganda, and himself to deliver talks and lectures in clubs and in more or less exclusive circles of literary men and educators. (William Bayard Hale edited a special propaganda sheet, published by the German Information Service).

"Part of the system was to enlist the aid and assistance of professors in American colleges as writers in favor of Germany, so that their personal influence and the influence of their reports could be used to the advantage of the German cause."

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"There might be an opening of the military debate by Germany."

Those who believe that America may never need to go again to the aid of France should look back over the history of Germany. Inquiry will show that the Boches have been in the habit of invading France every forty years on an average for the last twenty centuries. Justin McGrath, Paris correspondent of the Universal Service, quoting Louis Forest, of Lorraine, April 13, 1919, wrote

"A century before Christ, 300,000 boches invaded France, pillaging, devastating, killing, as far south as Aix-en-Provence. They were beaten and swore they would never do it again. Sixty years later, 240,000 boches invaded France and installed themselves in the Jura. Three

years later, the Helvetians, pushed by the boches, invaded France. They were beaten and the boches swore they would never do it again.

"Three years later 400,000 boches invaded the Meuse and Oise districts. They were beaten and swore they would never do it again. Sixteen years before Christ an army of boches invaded the left bank of the Rhine.

"Two hundred and thirteen years after Christ the boches began again. They were beaten. They began again twenty years later and when beaten swore they would never do it again. Twenty-four years later the boches invaded the valley of the Rhine.

"In 275 A. D., the boches invaded the banks of the Rhine. Twenty-six years later they destroyed everything as far as Langres. Beaten, they swore they would never do it again. Fifty years later the boches reoccupied the left bank of the Rhine. Three years later the boches invaded France as far as Lyons and Lens. Six years later they invaded France near Besancon.

"Four years later the boches invaded Belgium. Eight years later the boches invaded Alsace. Ten years later they were beaten on the Sambre. Eighteen years later the boches invaded all of Gaul. France was totally ravaged. Two years later the boches pillaged as far as Toulouse, Norbonne and Bordeaux. But my article is getting to be too long.

"In 413, 800, 848, 978, 1124, 1214, 1513, 1521, 1523, 1536, 1544, 1552, 1553, 1567, 1569, 1576, 1587, 1636, 1674, 1675, 1707, 1708, 1744, 1792, 1793, 1814, 1815, 1870, the boches invaded France. Whenever beaten they have been humble, fooling the French with platitudes, their friendship, their condescension, swearing they would never do it again."

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"*They believe in America first*"...."Germany, through the mouth of her Emperor, though her writers and through every action, said:

"'Here we stand, ready to take care of ourselves. We will not enter into any combination. We are armed for self defense and we know that no nation can compete with us.'

"That appears to be the American program in the eyes of some gentlemen, and I want to tell you that in the last two weeks the pro Germanism element has lifted its head again. It says:

"'I see a chance for Germany and America to stay out and take care of themselves.'

"There were passions let loose on the field of the world at war which have not grown quiet and which will not for a long time. Every element of disorder is hoping that there will be no staying hand from the Council of Nations to hold the order of the world steady, until we can make the final arrangements of justice and peace....

"America can stay out, but I want you to witness that the peace of the world cannot be established with the peace of the individual nations. America is necessary to the peace of the world.

"The peace and goodwill of the world are necessary to America, lest you disappoint the world, center its suspicion on you, make it feel that you are filled with jealousy and selfishness....

"Your choice is between the League of Nations and Germanism." (President Wilson, at Sioux Falls, September 8, 1919).

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"The Franco-American Treaty."

The text of the Franco-American treaty, signed by Clemenceau, Pichon, Wilson and Lansing, June 28, 1919, reads as follows:

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic are equally animated by a desire to maintain the peace of the world, so happily restored by the treaty signed at Versailles on June 28, which put an end to the war begun by the aggression of the German Empire and terminated by the defeat of that power, and

"Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, fully convinced that an unprovoked aggression directed by Germany against France would not only violate at the same time the letter and spirit of the Versailles Treaty, to which the United States and France are parties, thus exposing France anew to the intolerable burden of unprovoked war, but that such aggression on the act reputed by the Treaty of Versailles as being against all the powers signatory to the treaty and calculated to trouble the peace of the world, involving inevitably and directly the States of Europe and indirectly the entire world, as experience has amply and unhappily demonstrated, and

"Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic apprehend that the stipulations concerning the left bank of the Rhine cannot assure immediately to France, on the one hand, and to the United States, on the other, as signatory powers to the Treaty of Versailles, appropriate security and protection; .....

"Consequently, the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, having decided to conclude a treaty to realize these necessary ends, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, specially authorized to that end by the President of the United States of America, and Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of War, and Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, specially authorized to that end by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, have agreed upon the following:

"ARTICLE 1.—*The following stipulations concerning the left bank of the Rhine are contained in the Peace Treaty signed with Germany at Versailles, June* 28, 1919, *by the United States of America, by the Government of the French Republic, and by the British Empire, among other powers*:

"Article 42.—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

"Article 43.—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

"Article 44.—In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43 she shall be regarded as committing a

hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

"In case these stipulations should not assure immediately to France appropriate security and protection, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her aid in case of any unprovoked act of aggression directed against her by Germany.

ARTICLE 2.—*The present treaty, couched in terms analogous to those of a treaty concluded on the same date and to the same end between Great Britain and the French Republic, a copy of which is hereto annexed, will not enter into force until the moment when the latter is ratified.*

"ARTICLE 3.—*The present treaty must be submitted to the Council of the Society of Nations and must be recognized by the council, deciding if occasion arise by majority, as an engagement in conformity with the covenant of the society. It will remain in force until, upon demand of one of the parties to the treaty, the council deciding if occasion arise by a majority, finds that the society itself assumes sufficient protection.*

"ARTICLE 4.—*The present treaty shall before ratification be submitted to the French Parliament for approval and it shall be submitted to the Senate of the United States of America at the same time as the treaty of Versailles (the German peace treaty) shall be submitted for assent to ratification. Ratifications shall be exchanged at the time of deposit in Paris of the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles, or as soon afterward as possible.*"

The agreement between France and England is similar to the Franco-American treaty, except that it provides "that England consents to come" to the aid of France, whereas Article 1 of the Franco-American treaty reads: "The United States will be bound to come to the aid of France immediately". The Franco-British treaty imposes no obligation upon any of the British dominions to send overseas expeditions, unless approved by local parliaments.

Why the Franco-American treaty is necessary.

In submitting the Franco-American treaty to the United States Senate July 29, 1919, President Wilson said:

"Gentlemen of the Senate: I take pleasure in laying before you a treaty with the Republic of France, the object of which is to secure that republic the immediate aid of the United States of America in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her on the part of Germany....

"It was signed on the same day with the treaty of peace, and is intended as a temporary supplement to it. It is believed that the treaty of peace with Germany itself provides adequate protection to France against aggression from her recent enemy on the east; but the years immediately ahead of us contain many incalculable possibilities. The covenant of the League of Nations provides for military action for the protection of its members only upon advice of the Council of the League —advice given, it is to be presumed, only upon deliberation and acted upon by each of the Governments of the member States if its own judgment justifies such action. The object of the special treaty with France which I now submit to you is to provide for immediate military assist-

ance to France by the United States in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her by Germany without waiting for the advice of the Council of the League of Nations that such action will be taken. It is to be an arrangement, not independent of the League of Nations, but under it.

"It is, therefore, expressly provided that this treaty shall be made the subject of consideration at the same time with the treaty of peace with Germany; that this special arrangement shall receive the approval of the Council of the League; and that this special provision for the safety of France shall remain in force only until, upon the application of one of the parties to it, the Council of the League, acting, if necessary, by a majority vote, shall agree that the provisions of the covenant of the League afford her sufficient protection.

"I was moved to sign this treaty by considerations which will, I hope, seem as persuasive and as irresistible to you as they seemed to me. We are bound to France by ties of friendship which we have always regarded, and shall always regard, as peculiarly sacred. She assisted us to win our freedom as a nation. It is seriously to be doubted whether we could have won it without her gallant and timely aid. We have recently had the privilege of assisting in driving enemies, who were also enemies of the world, from her soil; but that does not pay our debt to her. Nothing can pay such a debt. She now desires that we promise to lend our great forces to keep her safe against the power she has had most reason to fear Another great nation volunteers the same promise. It is one of the fine reversals of history that that nation should be the very power from whom France fought to set us free. A new day has dawned. Old antagonisms are forgotten. The common cause of freedom and enlightenment has created a new comradeship and a new perception of what it is wise and necessary for great nations to do to free the world of intolerable fear. Two Governments who wish to be members of the League of Nations ask leave of the Council of the League to be permitted to go to the assistance of a friend whose situation has been found to be one of peculiar peril, without awaiting the advice of the league to act.

"It is by taking such pledges as this that we prove ourselves faithful to the utmost to the highest obligations of gratitude and tested friendship. Such an act as this seems to me one of the proofs that we are a people that sees the true heart of duty and prefers honor to its own separate course of peace.

"WOODROW WILSON.

"The White House, July 26, 1919."

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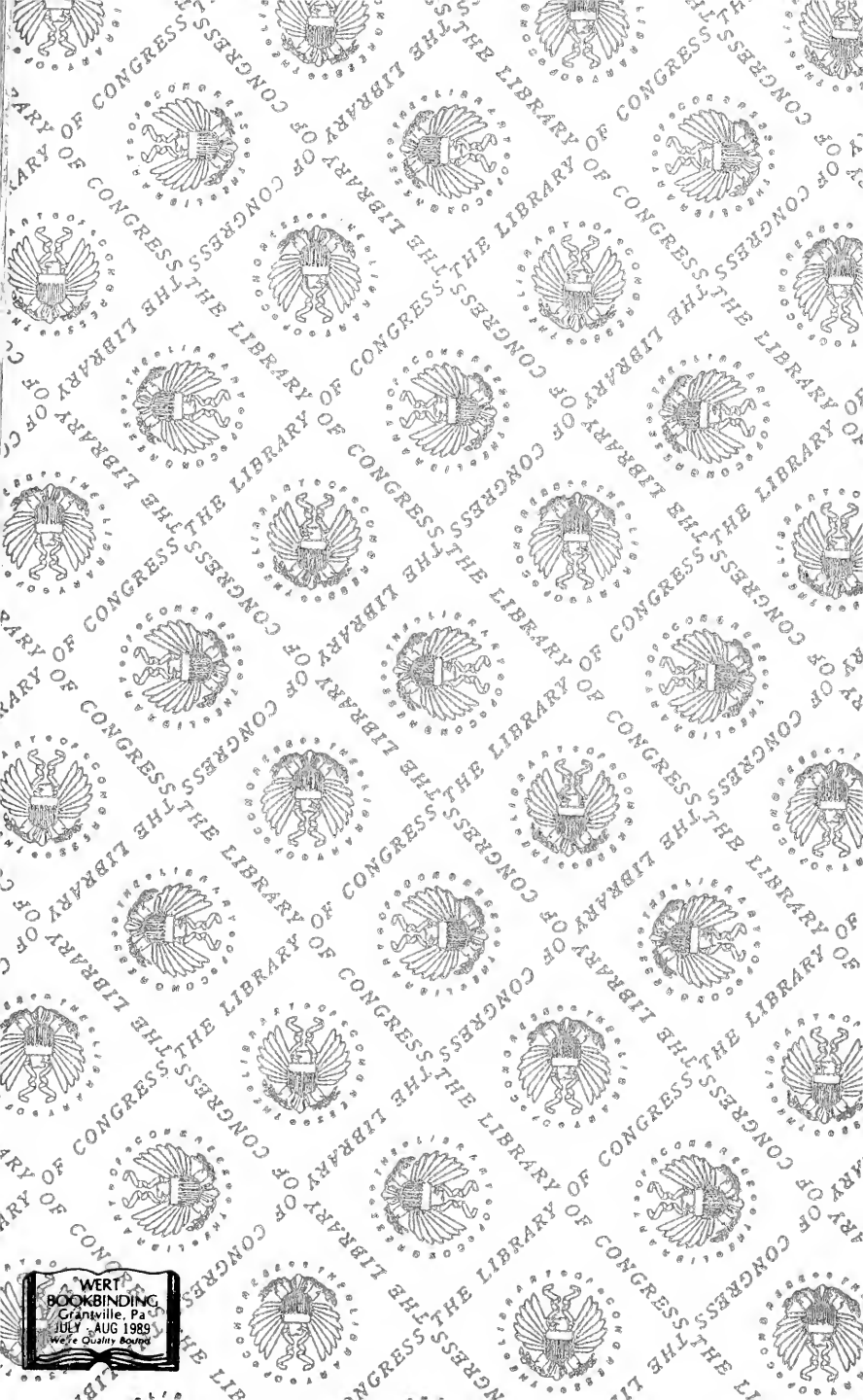

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